

JPRS-UPS-85-030

12 April 1985

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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12 April 1985

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### INTERNATIONAL

Liberation Movements' Task Seen as Promoting Internationalism (A. A. Milokhin; VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, SERIYA 12: TEORIYA NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA, No 4, Jul-Aug 84) ....	1
November Bloc Academic Conference on Peace Problems (XX CENTURY AND PEACE, No 2, Feb 85) .....	10
Participating Academies	10
Proper Role of Antiwar Movement, by Pyotr Fedoseyev	10
Declining U.S. Position in World, by Alexander Yakovlev	14
Third World Arms Race, by Yevgeny Primakov	18
Scientists' Appeal	21
Israel's Activities in Central Africa Described (V. Golubev; SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN', 25 Jan 85) .....	23
Indonesia's Economic, Social-Political Future Viewed (Valeriy Fedortsov; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 6, 1-7 Feb 85) .....	25
Table of Contents: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 1, 1985 (LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85) .....	31
Editorial on Nicaragua Election Success, U.S. 'Interference' (LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85) .....	33
Chilean Communist on Unification of Anti-Pinochet Groups (Orlando Millas; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85) .....	36
Latin America Peace Movement Seen in Socio-Political Situation (A. A. Sosnovskiy; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85) ....	44
TNC Dominance in Latin American Economic Integration Viewed (Z. I. Romanova; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85) .....	52

Cuban Author Criticizes Jamaica's Turn Toward U.S. (Haroldo Dilla Alfonso; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85)	59
Latin America Institute Officials Awarded Mexican Medals (LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85)	67
Book on Latin American Ideological Trends, Choices Reviewed (A. A. Sokolov; LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 1, Jan 85)	68

#### NATIONAL

Occupation Orientation To Keep Young on Farm (T. Abakumovskaya; SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA, 12 Jan 85)	71
Soviet Engineers Held in Low Esteem (V. Skrybinskiy, M. Boguslavskiy; SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA, 28 Feb 85)	74
Death Sentence Given for Past Crimes, Murder (V. Ogurtsov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 9 Jan 85)	75
Briefs Death of Retired KGB General	79

#### REGIONAL

Tenth Session of Estonian Supreme Soviet Held (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 8 Dec 84)	80
Information Report	80
Gosplan Chairman Speech	82
SOVETAKAN AYASTAN Carries Demirchyan's Election Speech (SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, 19 Feb 85)	94
Slyunkov Speech to Constituents (SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, 20 Feb 85)	111
Nabiyev, Others Welcome 40th Anniversary Delegation (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 15 Mar 85)	116
Tajik-Language Paper Awarded Honorary Diploma (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 23 Mar 85)	116
Nabiyev Addressed Seminar-Meeting on Animal Husbandry (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA, 3 Mar 85)	116



Bagirov at Republic Aktiv (K. M. Bagirov; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 3 Feb 85) .....	117
Lithuanian Journal Views Nationality Representation in Soviets (K. Valanchyus; KOMMUNIST, No 11, Nov 84) .....	121
Mastering Russian Language (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY, 30 Dec 84) .....	130
Armenian CP Meeting on Transportation (KOMMUNIST, 20 Feb 85) .....	131
Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs Meets on Law, Order (KOMMUNIST, 16 Feb 85) .....	133
Briefs Tajikistan Suffers Earthquake	135

## INTERNATIONAL

### LIBERATION MOVEMENTS' TASK SEEN AS PROMOTING INTERNATIONALISM

Moscow VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, SERIYA 12: TEORIYA NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNIZMA in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 84 (manuscript received 27 Mar 84) pp 39-45

[Article by A. A. Milokhin: "The Correlation of the National and the International in the Ideology and Policy of the Revolutionary Democrats of the Liberated Countries"]

[Text] In the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the Extraordinary February (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum it was noted: "Solidarity with the peoples, who have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and have entered onto the path of independent development, was and will be one of the bases of the foreign policy of our party and the Soviet state."<sup>1</sup> The processes, which are occurring in the liberated states, and the regularities of socialist orientation are constantly at the center of attention of our party and are being analyzed in depth by Soviet science. An important place among the problems, which are being elaborated in special literature, belongs to the correlation of the national and the international in the ideology and policy of the revolutionary forces of the liberated countries.<sup>2</sup>

V. L. Lenin, when examining the question of the correlation of the national and the international, noted: "The lack of a historical point of view and specificity is most often and most of all a shortcoming of the discussions on this issue."<sup>3</sup>

The concept "the national" encompasses a broad range of social phenomena of both a material and a spiritual order. Included in it are, first, the factors of social consciousness (national feelings, opinions, traditions, ideals); second, national consciousness; third, the policy on the national question. It is necessary to note that the national (consciousness, policy) never exists in isolation of class interests, class consciousness and class policy. National consciousness can serve as the basis of both the revolutionary patriotic consciousness of the proletariat, which is combined with internationalism, and the nationalistic consciousness (which at times turns into the chauvinistic consciousness) of petty bourgeois circles. The former trend is characteristic of the left wing of the revolutionary democracy of the

countries of socialist orientation, in which a coalition of the working class and nonproletarian strata of the working people is in power (the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Socialist Ethiopia and so on). The other negative trend, as practical experience shows, leads to a departure from the gradual solution of the problems of the national democratic revolution under the influence of a specific class policy (Somali). Moreover, in the ideology of the revolutionary democrats of South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia the nature of the interaction of the elements of social, national and class consciousness is gradually changing in favor of the last one. Here the ideas of proletarian internationalism are having a greater and greater influence on the formation of the class consciousness of the nonproletarian labor strata, which cannot but affect the nature of national consciousness. The erosion of the former ideas about national community is occurring, the role of the labor strata in the defense of national interests not only in the direct struggle against imperialism, but also in the development of everything that is truly national (language, culture, popular traditions) is increasing, the role of the bourgeoisie in this case is decreasing accordingly.<sup>4</sup> As a result the ideas of the revolutionaries of South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia about the national interests of their country are forming on the basis of national and international factors.

The entire system of the ideological influence of the two opposing social systems and their ideologies is included in the concept "national factors" as applied to the ideology of the revolutionary parties of the liberated countries. Moreover, it also encompasses the mutual influence of the ideological concepts of revolutionary democracy itself, whose precepts differ depending on the countries and the social forces which represent them.<sup>5</sup>

The correlation of the national and the international changes in the process of the evolution of the ideology of revolutionary democracy in the countries of socialist orientation. A number of internal and external factors contribute to such a change. First, the increasing spread of the principles of proletarian internationalism should be noted. The tendency for the influence of proletarian internationalism on the world outlook of the revolutionary democrats of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and Ethiopia to increase is now appearing more and more distinctly. The revolutionaries of the countries of Asia and Africa understand that the need for cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community is dictated not by temporary, tactical considerations, but by the community of basic interests and goals of world socialism and the national liberation movement.

Second, the processes of class differentiation and the increase of the class consciousness of the working people, which are occurring in the countries of socialist orientation, are of enormous importance. The establishment and development of national industry in South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia is leading to the growth of the ranks of the proletariat. The revolutionary democrats of these countries are advancing a general democratic, anti-imperialist program, the implementation of which is contributing to the intensification of the national democratic revolution. Important social

reforms are being implemented in the interests of the working people. This is objectively creating the basis for the increase of the influence of the working class on the course of the independent development of the states of socialist orientation. Thus, conditions are being created, under which the nationalistic elements in the ideology of revolutionary democracy are giving way more and more to the ideas of patriotism and internationalism, fraternal solidarity with the working people of other countries.

Addressing the 26th CPSU Congress, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) and the Commission for the Organization of the Party of Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE) and Commander in Chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia Mengistu Haile-Mariam noted that "by relying on the international support of the Soviet Union and all our allies, revolutionary Ethiopia... in turn will honorably fulfill its international duty."<sup>6</sup>

Third, the processes of the formation of classes in the countryside are having a great influence on the correlation of the national and the international factors in the ideology of the revolutionary democrats. Following the proletariat the labor strata of the peasantry (just as the nonproletarian labor strata of the city) are most receptive to the ideas of internationalism. Not by chance do the rural semiproletariat and the labor peasantry constitute the social support of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party (MPLA-PT), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the Commission for the Organization of the Party of Workers of Ethiopia (COPWE) and others. Features of the ideology of the nonproletarian labor strata are reflected in the program documents of the leading parties. Thus, along with the organization of production cooperatives in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and Ethiopia the creation of the prerequisites for the firm establishment of socialist production relations in the countryside is taking place.

Fourth, it is necessary to note the influence of national and international factors on the ideological attitudes of the revolutionary patriotic intelligentsia. The revolutionary democrats have set themselves the task to develop the alliance of the workers and peasants with the revolutionary intelligentsia with the leading role of the proletariat.<sup>7</sup> Here the influence on the left wing of the intelligentsia of the ideals of scientific socialism, particularly proletarian internationalism, has increased substantially. "It is also obvious," Mengistu Haile-Mariam noted during a friendly visit to the Soviet Union, "that the spreading among the people of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism... is a precondition to the development of the spiritual and material forces of the revolutionary people."<sup>8</sup>

The revolutionary democrats are turning more and more often to the ideas of proletarian internationalism. These ideas enable them to formulate the correct approach to the accomplishment of the difficult tasks of intensifying the national liberation revolutions.

The successful settlement of the national question in the USSR and other socialist countries served as a mighty stimulus for the liberation struggle of



nations. The turning of the leading parties of the working people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of Mozambique and the revolutionaries of Ethiopia to the experience of the settlement of the national question in the socialist countries shows the increasing maturity of revolutionary democracy in the direction of the acceptance of the principles of internationalism.

The revolutionaries of South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia understand that the success of revolutionary changes depends on the activeness, consciousness and participation of the working people in national development. The cultivation of the new man and the formation of the individual, who has high ideals, are the basis for the ideological work of the ruling revolutionary democratic parties. The tasks of the increase of the level of consciousness of the working people, the establishment of relations of fraternity and cooperation between people, the promotion and spread of socialist morals are posed in the documents of the leading parties--the YSP, the MPLA-PT and FRELIMO--and within the commission for the organization of such a party in Ethiopia.<sup>9</sup> With the accomplishment of these tasks the revolutionary democrats are noting the increased political consciousness of the working people, especially workers and peasants. The revolutionary parties are striving to attract every person to an active labor and public life and are creating the conditions for the more complete exercise of their rights.

The concept "patriotic consciousness" is connected with the concept "national consciousness," but is not identical to it.<sup>10</sup> The former presumes a broader view of the world, the ability to rise above one's own national individuality, to appreciate and accept the achievements of other peoples. Precisely for this reason genuine patriotism should be combined with internationalism. And although the patriotism of the nonproletarian working masses and detachments of the national bourgeoisie is of a dual, inconsistent nature, under specific conditions, for example, during the national liberation revolution, these strata can play and do play a historically progressive role.

The internationalistic trends in the views of the revolutionary democrats are a natural result of the experience of the anti-imperialist and liberation struggle, which the leading representatives of the nonproletarian revolutionary circles have gained. The turn of the leading revolutionary parties to internationalistic slogans reflects the further intensification of the national democratic revolution and the aggravation of the crisis of bourgeois-reformist and petty bourgeois doctrines and the practice of "national socialism."

The cultivation of a sense of revolutionary consciousness and responsibility for the successful accomplishment of the set goals is an urgent task of the revolutionary parties of the liberated countries. Organizations of workers for the combating of mismanagement, waste and corruption are being set up in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique and Ethiopia. As Mengistu Haile-Mariam noted, the activity of control organs depends on the political consciousness, discipline and high moral principles of all Ethiopians, to whom the achievements of the revolution are dear.<sup>11</sup>

The revolutionary democratic parties are gradually overcoming nationalism. This finds expression in the recognition of the importance of the internationalistic policy of the socialist countries and the international workers' movement, in their aspiration to strengthen solidarity and in the gradual acceptance of internationalism as a principle of their own activity. Although the class nature of revolutionary democracy leads to certain difficulties in the acceptance of the ideas of internationalism, nevertheless this process is taking place on the basis of anti-imperialist solidarity and revolutionary patriotism.

The shift to the position of internationalism "gives reason to believe that with the accomplishment of the tasks of the revolution the evolution of the revolutionary democratic parties into Marxist-Leninist parties through an intermediate stage--the leading parties of workers--is possible."<sup>12</sup> In the program documents of the YSP, the MPLA-PT, FRELIMO and COPWE solidarity with the struggle of nations for peace, independence, democracy and social progress is proclaimed as one of the most important tasks. For example, in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen back before the organization of the YSP in the program of the United Political Organization of the National Front (UPONF), which was adopted in 1975, it was noted that the transition of economically backward countries to socialism during the present period cannot be accomplished without the support of the socialist states. In the Accountability Report of the YSP Central Committee to the 2d YSP Congress (October 1980) the need for the ideological and political unity of the party on the basis of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism, which is a reliable guarantee of the continuation of the YSP policy of the strengthening of the fighting alliance with progressive Arab forces and the development of relations of all-round cooperation with the countries of the socialist community headed by the Soviet Union, was stressed.<sup>13</sup>

The MPLA-PT also considers it necessary to use the experience of the struggle of other nations for national liberation, being guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. As is noted in the Program of this party, the MPLA-PT will develop relations with the world revolutionary movement, first of all with the Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries of the socialist community, and intends in its activity to follow steadfastly and unswervingly the principles of proletarian internationalism.<sup>14</sup>

At the present stage of the building of a national democratic state in Mozambique the continuous strengthening of national independence, the broadening and consolidation of national popular democratic power and the creation of the political, ideological and material foundations of socialism are the basic goal of FRELIMO. In the Accountability Report of the FRELIMO Central Committee to the 4th party congress (April 1983) President of the People's Republic of Mozambique and Chairman of FRELIMO Samora Moises Machel noted that the cooperation of Mozambique and the countries of the socialist community was being developed on the basis of proletarian internationalism. The countries of the socialist community are the natural allies of the developing states.<sup>15</sup>



In the Program of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, which was adopted in April 1976, proletarian internationalism is specified as a principle of the foreign policy of the country. In it much attention is devoted to the settlement of the national question. "The unity of the nationalities of Ethiopia will be based on their common struggle against feudalism, imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and all reactionary forces."<sup>16</sup> The 2d Plenum of the COPWE Central Committee (February 1981) devoted special attention to the question of launching a campaign for the implementation of the principles of internationalism. It was noted at it that Ethiopia will follow steadfastly an anti-imperialist and anticolonial course, will strengthen the unity and solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community and will defend consistently the cause of peace and international security.<sup>17</sup>

The question of national and cultural development was discussed in the Accountability Report of the Central Committee to the 2d COPWE Congress (January 1983). Here the Ethiopian revolutionaries noted that many nationalities and communities are at different stages of development, their level of culture is also different. In the development of a culture, which is democratic in form and international in content, they see the key to the settlement of the national question and the creation of a unified nation.<sup>18</sup>

The revolutionary democrats of South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia draw attention to the influence of the principles of proletarian internationalism on the process of the formation of the vanguard parties of these countries. Thus, in an article devoted to the fourth anniversary of the revolutionary organization it is indicated that "in proletarian internationalism the COPWE sees one of the main sources of its strength."<sup>19</sup> However, the process of the acceptance of the principles of proletarian internationalism is only at the initial stage. It should be noted that the social diversity of society in the liberated countries and the conglomerate of social forces with different interests objectively create a certain obstacle for the spread of proletarian internationalistic ideas.

The process of the penetration and firm establishment of internationalistic ideas in the midst of revolutionary democracy occurs in stages. General democratic solidarity has become widespread in the countries of socialist orientation. Anti-imperialism appears as a characteristic trait of general democratic solidarity, and this links it with proletarian internationalism. Frequently general democratic solidarity is a stage, a phase in the development of the solidarity of revolutionary forces and in the transition to the acceptance by the leading unit of revolutionary democracy of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Thus, there is no identity between anti-imperialist solidarity, which is of an internationalistic nature, and internationalism, but there is also no rigid boundary. The differentiation of these concepts is important in light of the statements, which have appeared in recent years, about the "obsolescence" of proletarian internationalism and its "absorption by general democratic, anti-imperialist solidarity. The solidarity of the revolutionaries of South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia on the continental level appears in the support of the liberation struggle of nations against the last bulwark of colonialism--the racist regime in South Africa--and the struggle of the Arab nations against

imperialist intervention and Israeli aggression and in the support of efforts which are aimed at the establishment of a new international economic order.

The fact that representatives of 36 revolutionary democratic and national democratic parties attended the 26th CPSU Congress,<sup>20</sup> was important evidence of the broadening of the scope of internationalism and the increased maturity of revolutionary democracy. Therefore it is not by chance that bourgeois authors are making fierce attacks against the spread of the ideology and policy of the solidarity of revolutionary forces and the transition of the leading unit of revolutionary democracy to the acceptance of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The central idea of the anticommunists is to impose on the revolutionary democrats the concept of the merging of scientific socialism with nationalism on the basis of the rejection of the principles of proletarian internationalism. "The communists came to power," American political scientist S. Harrison notes, "only where they headed movements, which were nationalistic in their essence, and synthesized communism and nationalism."<sup>21</sup> The logic of such arguments is based on the substitution of the concept "nationalism" for the concept "anti-imperialism."

The methods, which are used by bourgeois ideologists for discrediting the revolutionary democratic regimes of the liberated countries, are different. Among them an important place is assigned to the use of the ideology of nationalism, the artificial aggravation of contradictions on national soil and the absolutization of the elements of the national in the ideology of revolutionary democracy. Bourgeois researchers attempt to gloss over the class nature of the vanguard parties of the working people and to present them as nationalistic movements. Thus, for example, R. Staar, editor in chief of an anticommunist yearbook, regards as the main, decisive trend of the development of these parties "dependence on some ethnic groups or others, in spite of antiracist (and antitribalistic) statements."<sup>22</sup> At present bourgeois ideologists are reviewing their position of the open opposition of nationalism to internationalism. Now they have realized that such an opposition is obsolete, the convergence of Marxism and nationalism is needed.<sup>23</sup>

The ideologists of nationalism of the countries of capitalist orientation are striving to present internationalism as a nonclass, socially amorphous doctrine. It is also impossible not to take into account that the proclamation of the "internationalistic" nature of nationalism is a kind of reaction to the ideology of proletarian internationalism, which is steadily being strengthened as the workers' movement in the countries of socialist orientation grows. As is known, V. I. Lenin defined the real essence of internationalism with the maximum clarity: "Internationalism in reality is one and only one thing: selfless work on the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle *IN ONE'S OWN* [in italics] country, the support... *OF SUCH A STRUGGLE* [in italics], such a policy, and *ONLY IT ALONE* [in italics], in *ALL* [in italics] countries without exception."<sup>24</sup>

There is every reason to assume that the time of the maximum positive influence of nationalism on the sociopolitical practice of the liberated countries has passed. Nationalism is gradually giving way to internationalism. This is a lengthy process, but the internationalistic trends, which have emerged in it, are having a substantial influence on the

ideology of revolutionary democracy and on the national liberation movement as a whole. The further development of the liberation processes in the developing countries to a significant extent will depend on the extent to which the revolutionary forces will be able to overcome the ideology and policy of nationalism and to shift to the position of consistent anti-imperialism, revolutionary solidarity, and after that to proletarian internationalism.

Under present conditions the importance of the correct correlation of the national and the international in the activity of revolutionary democracy and its organizations is increasing. The trends of the development of revolutionary democratism is such that, on the one hand, the scope of national tasks is increasing and, on the other, the proportion of international tasks is increasing. This is leading to the strengthening of the interrelations of the national and the international in the ideology of the revolutionary democrats, who have chosen the path of socialist development.

#### FOOTNOTES

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3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 30, p 349.
4. "Leninizm i natsional'nyy vopros v sovremennykh usloviyakh" [Leninism and the National Question Under Present Conditions], Moscow, 1974.
5. See G. F. Kim, L. R. Polonskaya, "The National and the International in the Ideology of the National Liberation Movement," "Natsional'noye i internatsional'noye v ideologii natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya. Tezisy," Vol 1, Moscow, 1974.
6. "XXVI s'yezd Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza. Stenograficheskiy otchet" [The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Verbatim Report], Vol 1, Moscow, 1981, p 300.
7. "I s'yezd Narodnogo dvizheniya za osvobozhdeniye Angoly (MPLA)" [The 1st Congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)], Moscow, 1978, p 110.

8. PRAVDA, 30 March 1984.
9. "I s"yezd Narodnogo dvizheniya za osvobozhdeniye Angoly (MPLA)," p 111.
10. See P. M. Rogachev, M. A. Sverdlin, "Patriotizm, klassy, revolyutsiya" [Patriotism, Classes, Revolution], Moscow, 1979, p 17.
11. "Sovremennyye problemy i vneshnyaya politika Efiopii" [The Current Problems and Foreign Policy of Ethiopia], Moscow, 1982, p 159.
12. An. A. Gromyko, "Afrika: progress, trudnosti, perspektivy" [Africa: Progress, Difficulties, Prospects], Moscow, 1981, p 92.
13. (ARBAATASHAR CXTOBR), 12 October 1980.
14. "I s"yezd Narodnogo dvizheniya za osvobozhdeniye Angoly (MPLA)," p 123.
15. Partido Frelimo, "Relatorio do Comité Central Ac IV Congresso," Maputo, 1983, p 14.
16. "Basic Documents of the Ethiopian Revolution," Addis Ababa, 1977, pp 13-14.
17. Quoted from "Sovremennyye problemy i vneshnyaya politika Efiopii," p 41.
18. "Documents and Resolutions of the 2nd COPWE Congress," Addis Ababa, January 1983, p 35.
19. ETHIOPIAN HERALD, 25 December 1983.
20. See B. O. Ponomarev, "On the International Significance of the 26th CPSU Congress," KOMMUNIST, No 5, 1981, p 16.
21. S. Harrison, "The Widening Gulf. Asian Nationalism and American Policy," New York, 1978, p 74.
22. "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs. 1979," Stanford, 1979, p XXII.
23. A. Smith, "Nationalism in the Twentieth Century," Oxford, 1979, p 115.
24. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 31, p 170.

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12 April 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

### NOVEMBER BLOC ACADEMIC CONFERENCE ON PEACE PROBLEMS

#### Participating Academies

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 85 p 18

[Text]

In November in Moscow there was an international conference of scientists from socialist countries sponsored by the Scientific Council on Research of Problems of Peace and Disarmament.\* It was attended by representatives of the Academies of Sciences of Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, KPDR, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

The conference adopted an appeal to scientists of the world.

Our correspondents asked the participants in the conference to tell our readers their views on the problems discussed.

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\* The Scientific Council on Research of Problems of Peace and Disarmament was formed in 1979 on the initiative of prominent Soviet scientists and public figures by the joint decision of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Soviet Peace Committee and USSR State Committee on Science and Technology.

#### Proper Role of Antiwar Movement

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 85 pp 19-23

[Article by Pyotr Fedoseyev, Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the Scientific Council on Research of Problems and Disarmament]

[Text]

Deep and disturbing intrusion of international problems into the life and destinies of millions of people, real not abstract sense of the threat of thermonuclear war which can touch the fate of the given individual, his children, relatives, friends compels ever wider masses in the West and the East to search for the ways of influence on international relations in the spirit of counteraction of aggression, the arms race and attempts to solve world's problems with the use of force or the threat of its employment.

It must, of course, be taken into account the substantial differences between the peace movement in socialist countries, in the USSR in particular, and antiwar movements in the capitalist countries which stem first of all from the differences of the social systems.

"As for the CPSU, the Soviet state," said Konstantin Chernenko, "we together with the fraternal parties and in the unity with the countries of the socialist commonwealth, did and will do everything we can to normalize the po-

litical climate of the planet and avert military threat to mankind".

The course of the Soviet Union on peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and on achieving lasting peace for all peoples is shared by all citizens of this country. All Soviet people unanimously support the Programme of Peace worked out by our Party. Therefore the antiwar movement in the USSR, in fact, embraces all adult population. Only in 1983-1984 over 100 million people took part in demonstrations, meetings and other actions against the deployment in Europe of destabilizing "Euro-strategic" weapons. Social homogeneity of Soviet society left its mark on these actions: there were differences among the participants but slogans were unanimously approved though a number of problems, especially those connected with the forms of the movement, organizing methods and search for new ways of antimilitarist propaganda, were by no means easy to solve.

The main thing was that the ideas of the Soviet antiwar movement both produced by it (for example, the slogan "No to nuclear weapons in the East and in the West!" and "No to nuclear weapons on the whole planet!" and borrowed by it from the arsenals of its friends (in particular, the demand of the US antimilitarists on the freeze of nuclear weapons) corresponded to the Soviet peace policy and found its adequate reflection in peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union on world arena. In other socialist countries, peace movement draws almost all population in full conformity with the policy of states. Someone in the West wonders at this correspondence of the public movements' slogans and government's policy. But there is nothing surprising in it because the security of peace on earth is the aim of the public and governments of the socialist countries.

With the growth of people's masses participating in the peace movement in the West, there appeared a large number of relatively new organizations, movements and even political parties which actively joined its work: "Green" parties, peace organizations of physicians, scientists, journalists, lawyers, teachers, writers, religious figures, students, sportsmen, etc. Trade union antiwar actions have become more wide and more militant by character.

At the same time, the movement, which is all-democratic by its character, differs by diversity of its composition,

contradictions of the political positions of its participants, ideological dissimilarity and sometimes irreconcilability of views. This plurality which speaks about the support of peace cause by the overwhelming majority of the earth's population is, of course, its strength but it also contains its potential weakness.

Under these conditions of great importance are the mutual understanding, mutual assistance and solidarity of antiwar forces, their knowledge to clearly see the sources of the growing military threat, to find out the key slogans and aims for the given moment and the ways and means for perfection of the struggle for their realization.

One of the most important achievements of the modern antiwar movement lies in the fact that with all the diversity and unlikeness of its components and acting forces, the unity of the main aims started to play ever more bigger role in it. First of all, this is a favourable result of the inner dialogue and process of mutual understanding which have developed with the activity unprecedented before.

Pro-militarist press and many bourgeois politicians undertook energetic efforts to compromise the mass antiwar actions because allegedly these expressions of mass consciousness are detrimental and defective. On the one hand, they are spreading the myth that the "hand of Moscow" acts in the antiwar movements. At the same time, lots of "wise" and condescending precepts have appeared in the bourgeois press that "fear is a bad councillor", that "responsible decisions are not taken in streets", etc.

Meanwhile, it is a fact that lately it was street, mass of rank-and-file people, who very often don't trust on reasonings, in general, but rely more upon their instinct and experience, that said a weighty word in the discussions on peace.

Here, apart from understandable emotions, we can find the concentrated experience of the former antiwar struggle which enriched the mass consciousness and influenced the formation of an alternative thinking of different strata of population on security problems.

As a result we have a fact which deserves our attention: it was the masses that worked out the main slogan of the campaign of the past years—banning of the deployment of new American



missiles in Europe. The antiwar organizations accepted these demands from the broad public and made them the key alternative to the US militarist course.

The imperialist propaganda tries to represent the antiwar movement as a result of the "intrigues of communists" and counts on disorganizing the peace champions who belong to different political trends and outlook orientations.

It is appropriate to remind Lenin's position on relation of Communists to the people's peace movement. Soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin explained that the struggle of the Bolsheviks for peace against the bourgeois parties of war wasn't a party tactic but the expression of people's will. "The enormous majority of the peasants, soldiers and workers stand for the policy of peace. This isn't the policy of the Bolsheviks, in general, it's not a party policy but the policy of the workers, soldiers and peasants, i. e. the majority of the people."

One of the primary tasks of the dialogue within the framework of the antiwar movement, and above all between the public of socialist and capitalist states, is the overcoming of prejudices, untrue perception of one another and promotion of understanding of real outlooks and positions of the sides which are more than frequently and deliberately distorted by the enemies of the antiwar movement.

At first, the retaliatory measures of the socialist countries for maintaining military balance after the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe were met with complicated and contradictory reception in the antiwar movement. At first these measures provoked, as a whole, a watchful reaction because of the pacifist moods prevailing among the antiwar organizations, groups and movements in the West and because of the efforts of the bourgeois propaganda. The propaganda apparatus in the West actively exploits these moods striving to turn the movement against socialist countries.

The Soviet policy of security, military policy and defensive military doctrine are oriented to the prevention of war, protection from aggression and upholding peace. They proceed from the fact that there is no prospect for nuclear war and a reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. "It's a dangerous madness to try to destroy

each other in the arms race and count on victory in nuclear war", such is the position of the CPSU and all Soviet people. The policy of security and military policy of the USSR are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and proceed from the assumption that any nuclear war cannot be accepted and must be prevented. The obligation of the Soviet Union not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is a vivid confirmation of the defensive character of the USSR military policy. That is a great step of practical importance and not a simple declarative statement.

The Soviet military construction has a pure defensive character and doesn't orient to creating overwhelming military superiority, unleashing nuclear war and doesn't connect it with the achievement of any political, military or other aims. In general, the Soviet military doctrine doesn't contain such notions as the "first strike", "preventive strike" and so on. The Soviet Union doesn't strive for obtaining the overbalance in the number of nuclear warheads, for the copying the US actions in the sphere of the escalation of military spendings, etc.

Of course, the level of security of the USSR as well as other European states could be higher at the lower level of the confronting nuclear weapons in Europe. It was because of this principle that the Soviet Union suggested that Europe should be free from nuclear weapons, both tactical and medium-range, or for the beginning, nuclear weapons from both sides should be substantially decreased on the principle of equality.

The Soviet concepts of defence, balance of forces and equal security are oriented to active efforts for the benefit of peaceful coexistence, strengthening international trust and wide cooperation of the USSR with all other states in fulfilling the tasks of curbing the arms race and successive lowering of the level of military confrontation. There is no ground to identify or liken them with the concepts of "balance of fear", "nuclear deterrent", constant supremacy in the quality of the arms race and hostile confrontation which are spread in certain military-political circles of NATO countries.

In the end of the 70s—beginning of the 80s, the movement as a whole and its separate groups were forcibly imposed with discussions stating which

organizations were "real" antiwar movements and which were not, which movements can be considered good, "independent" and which must be considered bad, "official". In other words, they tried to persuade the participants in the movement that cooperation among them is possible if the differences among them were eliminated. The elimination of those differences were allegedly the prerequisite for conducting their combined antiwar actions.

Some dissident forces, penetrated into the Western antiwar movement, try to form "independent" groups from anti-socialist elements in socialist countries and present them as "true" in the antiwar movement. In fact, it is a line to disrupt socialist system from within. The public in socialist countries cannot but rebuff the attacks against the foundation of their present system.

The increased pressure on the antiwar movement is made by the imperialist and pro-militarist propaganda which is striving to poison the antiwar movement in capitalist countries with anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

Under the present situation, position, word and deeds of world's science acquire the exceptional significance. The duty of scientists is, first of all, to tell the truth about possible consequences of thermo-nuclear war, make warnings against its unleashing, show the real ways for obtaining security, thus making more active the universal struggle for the defence of peace.

Scientists of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries make their contribution to this noble deed. They always step in the first ranks of the struggle for eliminating the threat of nuclear catastrophe. In the appeal "To Scientists of the World" adopted in spring, 1981, prominent Soviet scientists called upon scientists of other countries of the world to active participation in the struggle for deepening detente and make all possible to avert the threat of nuclear catastrophe from peoples.

Soviet scientists together with their foreign colleagues in recent years have done much for explaining the scope of threatening catastrophe and for mobilization of the world public for the struggle against it. Characteristic is such an example: a wide response in the world was received from the decisions of the conference of scientists "For Saving Mankind from the Threat of Nuclear War, for Disarmament and Peace" held in Moscow in spring, 1983.

Outstanding representatives of foreign science also took part in it.

There is ground to believe that the world antiwar public will increase its activity in the Year of Peace declared by the UN in connection with the 40th anniversary of its foundation. The problems of war and peace as all global problems don't exist independently. They cannot be separated from world social contradictions, from the level of development, class structure of different countries and the policy of ruling classes. It's impossible without the analysis of all these factors to open all deep reasons of aggravation of international situation and uncover the sources of military threat and, consequently, find and suggest the means to counteract it.

The attempts, which can be found in Western scientific literature, to depart from the existing problem on the responsibility of the US ruling circles and other NATO countries for increasing tension and forcing the arms race or to place it "equally" on two "super-powers" or, at last, to shift the blame on "technology" have no scientific justification. Moreover, they are harmful and dangerous since they can give a wrong direction for the struggle for peace and transfer it to a wrong track.

The role of scientists, and especially the researchers in the movement itself, is very important in exposing these schemes.

To facilitate the turning of international climate from dangerous complications of "cold war" to mutual co-

operation, it's necessary to overcome the tradition to use the categories of confrontation in political thinking. It's necessary to obtain the situation when stereotypes of enmity were forced out by the notions which can more actively help speeding and deepening of positive processes in international life. Great importance we lay on every kind of counteraction to the propaganda of theories and ideas which in some way or other justify the arms race, hinder the consolidation of business and mutually beneficial relations among countries. There can be no justifications of fanning suspicions and mistrust among peoples and all actions which obstruct the development of fruitful cooperations among states. The wide involvement of scientists of different specialities into a social dialogue on the problems of war and peace provides an opportunity to widen information for participants in the movement

12 April 1965

and disown a number of myths disseminated by the militarist propaganda. Participation of progressive scientists in the movement is an important means to counteract the attempts to impart split into it, to disorientate and direct it along the wrong way.

Scientists have done much to tell the truth about possible consequences of thermonuclear war, show real ways for security and mobilize public opinion

for the struggle against impending danger.

Nevertheless, it is not sufficient only to show the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war. It's important to show also the source of the danger and uncover the secrecy, as Lenin said, in which war is born, analyse interconnection of the problems of war and peace with world social contradictions and with the development of class struggle.

## Declining U.S. Position in World

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 85 pp 24-28

[Article by Alexander Yakovlev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Institute of the World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Vice-Chairman of the Scientific Council on Research of Problems of Peace and Disarmament]

[Text]

In my report I would like to attract attention to some qualitative phenomena which can, and to rather great extent, influence the formation of the very future of mankind.

The first of such changes can be seen in the deep objective shifts of the US position in modern world and purposeful attempts of the American ruling circles to return the lost positions in the world economy and politics, in the world military-strategic situation.

The analysis of the world development shows that there is a certain objective base for socio-political and political worry which for 10-15 last years are increasingly felt by Washington's ruling circles. The nervousness of the American plutocracy with all the demagoguery of its political and ideological framing taken into account has its real roots. At any rate, not all the problems which trouble them are of imaginable character imitated for supporting the "historical courage" and spirit of optimism. The increasing rate of the real historical progress narrows

the opportunities of imperialism and its potential for manoeuvring step by step.

This process developed around the main stem axis— in the sphere of the historical competition with the social and economic system of socialism. But not only within it. Under changes

were also the relations with the developing countries, with other "centres of powers" and with separate capitalist countries. The world was rapidly changing and to the worst site for Washington.

The USA lost the practical possibility to count on the unpunished military solution of the problems in historical competition between the two systems. It suffered the obvious military defeat in Vietnam. At the end of the 60s, a global balance of military-strategic forces of the two systems was established. Nothing worthwhile happened from Washington's attempts to use economic levers against socialist countries for political aims. The USA failed to develop the North-South problem into an effective weapon of the pressure on the developing countries. The aggravation of the intercapitalist contradictions weakened the US control not only over economy but also over policy and militarist matters of other capitalist countries.

Although the method of direct dictat has lost the former reliability and the status of automatism, American imperialism has no desire to give up without struggle no one of its world positions neither in the relations with socialist countries nor developing or capitalist ones. Nevertheless, the USA is full of zeal to preserve, wherever possible, the control system over the world events which is slipping away from that country.

It was in this context that the offensive imperialist strategy must be extremely activated in all spheres of world's development: whether it was economy or technology, policy or ideology, armaments or military strategy, moral or psychological pressure on other peoples and states.

An especial stress was made by the US ruling circles on building military muscles. The US ruling circles are obsessed with an idea of not only "crusade" against socialism but also of "counter-revolution" against the developing countries of socialist orientation and pursue the course of strengthening control over its allies under the pretext of the "unity".

The second change is determined by political processes going on inside imperialism—noticeable conservatism, increased level of anti-communism, orientation to militarism, revanchism, aggressiveness and nuclear adventurism which have become more open and are being demonstratively included into the real international politics.

This can be seen, first of all, in the US politics. People have experienced much in this century and because of this everything in that country is seen, at first sight, as a monotonous repetition of the past and a banal political conjuncture which is well familiar to the

American way of life. History shows that the change of teams in the White House usually doesn't bring a serious political load, doesn't develop the long-term political consequences and principally doesn't affect the foreign policy course of the ruling administrations.

Nevertheless, it seems that the 1980 elections brought something new into the character of party changes. They meant not only the accession of the Republicans to power. This time the elections were noticeable from the point of view of coming to power of the right-conservative grouping which openly orients to militarism and chauvinism, on force as a political means, on considerable and open reviving of a messianic predestination of that country.

This process reflects an attempt to organize the general offensive along the entire front by the extreme right, chauvinistic, anti-socialist and militarist forces.

In the 80s, militarism turned to be both practice, policy and ideology—the basis of the US interventionist strategy. It penetrated into the thickness of the social structure and state mechanism and became their inevitable part. Militarism of such a level and scope has never been seen in the US structural plan. And not only the military-industrial complex and military establishment are the carrier of it. It poisoned the ruling clan, ruling intellectual elite and considerable layers of the "middle class". The American imperialism is inseparably linked with anti-socialism and anti-Sovietism and at the same time has a more broader purpose.

Today the supremacy of the extreme rights in the USA is strengthening the basis of anti-socialism, militarism and aggressiveness there. The victory of the extreme rights is the institutionalization of the Washington's long-term confrontation with the Soviet Union, the whole socialist commonwealth and, in the

long run, it is the course for legalizing instrumentation of nuclear war and "star wars" as its new hypostasis—this is quantitative and qualitative forcing up of the arms race. In this case we have no reason to suppose that imperialist ideology, policy and military strategy in their essence will go along other, principally new development.

It's another matter, to what extent imperialism will succeed in fulfilling its short-term and long-term intentions. Adaptation to the world development—not an artificially modelled but a real one—is inevitable. It is a historical imperative for capitalist society. But that can happen only if the forces of socialism, democracy and progress continue to resolutely counteract the capitalist system which still has considerable reserves for economic and political manoeuvring and development and which can commit any crimes in the name of preserving the wealth and power of the ruling forces.

The third change is determined by military-strategic aspects—the problems of the strategic forces balance and striving of American imperialism for regaining military superiority, having destroyed the existing parity. Special dynamism and multiplicity of the modern world development place us constantly not only before new phenomena and rapid changes in military-strategic sphere and very often compel us to think anew over the usual notions.



Weapons, nuclear included, is a value historically changing both quantitatively and qualitatively. The influence of one or another type on the given epoch also historically changes, as Engels wrote.

We use the notion "nuclear era" taking into account the meaning of nuclear weapons appearance as a constant. This is, of course, an important characteristic of the epoch. But nuclear weapons, as is the case with conventional,

are changing without doubt. I think that military-technological revolution in the 80s makes another round in its spiral and creates a launching site for the break-through in the development of a qualitatively new type of weapons. The programme of outer space antimissile defence, announced by R. Reagan, is a sombre signal of such changes. Apparently, many other weapons will enter the arsenal of future weapons, the impetus to the development of which was given by the US administration.

Very often the speculative perception of this problem would lead to incomprehension of rather dangerous both political and military strategic aspects of the process which is imposed on mankind by modern imperialism.

A serious threat to destabilization of strategic situation would appear because of the attempts of the American leadership to create the outer space-based antimissile defence system. Washington tries to justify that course by intention to refuse from "nuclear deterrence" based on the threat of the employment of strategic offensive weapons and replace it by more reliable, more cheap and allegedly more moral means for preventing nuclear war. But it is clear that that will result in the creating of a new field of military rivalry—maybe more dangerous than in the sphere of the US offensive strategic weapons. It must be clear that this crosses out the Treaty on Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems signed in 1972 which is one of few acting agreements deterring the arms race.

American politicians and strategists understand military superiority as an ability by means of the "first strike" on the Soviet Union to lower the power of a retaliatory blow and decrease damage to the USA to some theoretically "acceptable" level.

The new American weapons systems, according to the Pentagon's programmes and concepts, are intended for a synchronized sudden strike against the

Soviet command, control and early warning complex as well as for destruction, if possible, of the very nuclear means of a retaliatory strike. It is supposed to "exhaust" the USSR in a "prolonged" nuclear war with the maximum use of offensive means and by the means of the active and passive defence of the USA and its allies.

Such "scenario" is absurdly utopic but it is accepted by Washington as a working variant of "acceptable" nuclear war.

The fourth change, directly connected with the US foreign and military policy, with its role in international relations, is determined by quantitative and qualitative shifts in the system of deployment of its power outside the country.

Our generation well remembers that US military bases had formed one of the most negative political and military features of the post-war period and imposed their dark imprint on the system of international relations. The USA counts on a psychological "effect of accommodation" to these bases.

In the end of the 70s at the beginning of the 80s there appeared, to my mind, qualitatively new moments in the system of the US military basing which makes it still more menacing. They must be precisely and principally evaluated.

The principally new phenomenon is the formation of a practically closed chain of military basing (military bases proper, installations, rapid deployment forces, electronic reconnaissance centres and posts intended for solving the task of the "first strike") along the perimeter of the Soviet borders—from the West to the East.

The fifth change is determined by ever greater mutual cohesion and even interlocking of international regional or local conflicts used by imperialism in the struggle against socialism and national-liberation movement.

The number of regional and local conflicts, which are directly provoked by the policy and strategy of imperialism or used by it in its interests and aims, is undoubtedly increasing even in comparison with the years "fruitful" in that plan as the 50s and 60s.

The very system of conflicts undergo qualitative changes which have rather negative features. In the course of their internationalization they increase political rivalry of big powers sometimes near the threshold of globalization. Shadow of nuclear weapons—available or potentially possible—has fallen on such conflicts as Falkland, Middle East, Indo-Pakistani and South African.

The sixth change is connected with ideological struggle which imperialism more often replaces by "psychological war" against socialist countries and national-liberation movement.

The present stage is characterized by the sharpening of ideological war and development by the West of "psychological war", especially on such direction as the relations between the East and West. The Western propaganda still manages to keep on surface the groundless and malicious fabrication about "Soviet threat" which serves as a means for criminal frightening of people with the aim of forcing the development of militarism and aggravating international situation.

Ideological struggle has become a state affair and acquired the character of an equal part in the common strategic policy of imperialism.

Under the US present administration one can see the sharp increase of apologetic aspects in the American propaganda aimed at foreign countries and advertisement of American way of life, propagation of chauvinism and militar-

ism. The new round of the anti-Soviet propaganda began with the adoption by the White House of "Project Truth" in August, 1981.

The reactionary circles connect certain hopes with the "ideological erosion" of socialist society. "Psychological war" against the states of the socialist commonwealth is by its essence and forms a distorted surrogate of ideological war transformed in accordance with subversive aims of the foreign policy of imperialism. It is carried on by subversive methods, by the methods of interference into the internal affairs of sovereign states and by the wide use of falsification, juggling with facts and misinformation of the world public opinion.

In recent years "psychological war" is characterized by the striving of the US ruling elements for wide and deep penetration into the economic and social structures of the countries of the socialist commonwealth with the aim of destabilizing the political situation.

All the changes—each in its own way—create the very dangerous world for modern mankind on the border of two centuries. The contemporaries cannot but feel the worry about the development of human civilization.

Fortunately, mankind has in its possession the forces that can counteract the extremely negative shifts in the fate of earth. The main of them, which persistently and purposefully goes against these trends, is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the whole socialist commonwealth.

The socialist countries are fully aware of the sharpness of the present situation on the world arena and know how it is difficult under the present conditions to turn international relations to the better. It must be taken into account that in many capitalist countries, the understanding of the international events, of threat to peace by American imperialism, isn't sufficiently formed as a result of inadequate information and "carpet" brainwashing of people.

Today the duty of scientists is to tell people, each and everyone, that assertions of American politicians and ideologists to "survive" nuclear war, limit it by certain boundaries, reduce to an "acceptable" level the damage from nuclear weapons are criminal. Sometimes the thesis that there cannot be a winner in a nuclear war is considered as a pacifist formula. Specialists in physics, chemistry, biology and medicine, I believe, must give this formula a character of a universally recognized and indisputable truth. Scientists of natural sciences are working out scientific notions about the character and consequences of nuclear war and acquaint the world public, including their Western colleagues as well as the governments who have the desire to listen to the truthful and objective analysis, with the results of their research.



I think, wishes can also be forwarded to representatives of social sciences: philosophers, economists, historians, lawyers, psychologists and sociologists. They study economy, policy, ideology and military strategy of imperialist powers, the USA included. They still have to answer a number of the important questions set by life. The present extremely complicated and sometimes tangled situation in separate regions and on the world arena as a who-

le always put forward new and very often not so simple problems.

Nevertheless, I believe that the world isn't doomed to confrontation. On the contrary, it is confrontation that is abnormal in international relations while their norm can and must be detente. Sooner or later a new detente will change confrontation with the regularity of historical tendency which smoothes arbitrary zigzag.

### Third World Arms Race

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 85 pp 29-31

[Article by Academician Yevgeny Primakov, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Vice-Chairman of the Scientific Council on Research of Problems of Peace and Disarmament, Vice-President of the World Peace Council]

[Text]

Yevgeny Maximovich, one can often hear that the struggle against the arms race, for peace is a little concern for the peoples of the developing countries who are preoccupied with the solution of the sharpest problems of national liberation movement, overcoming the backwardness, hunger and poverty. But I think that there is quite definite connection between the antiwar and national liberation movements.

The countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America begin to play an ever increasing role in international affairs. The former colonial and semi-colonial massif is changing from the object into the subject of history. As for the role of the developing countries in the antiwar movement, it is still inadequate to their enormous potential which could be used for widening the organized public resistance to the imperialist course leading to a thermo-nuclear catastrophe.

The speech is about many factors which influence, in some way or other, the mutual ties and interaction between the antiwar and national liberation movements. And that is not only a theoretical problem or academic setting of the problem which must be solved, so to speak, in the silence of study. The employment of the growing political potential of the Asian, African and

Latin American countries in the antiwar movement depends upon its practical and everyday solution.

The problem of mutual ties and interaction of the two movements isn't a new one. In the 60s we had already seen two extremes in its solution and presentation.

The first extreme left wing-Mao Zedongist interpretation of the full domination of the national liberation movement over the antiwar one. With such formulation of the problem, the antiwar movement was, in fact, sacrificed to the national liberation movement. The supporters of such interpretation were in favour, in practice, for a war within a limited scope which, allegedly, could spur the revolutionary process in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Another extreme has appeared: the right-wing bourgeois formulation of the full priority of the antiwar movement over the national liberation. Such formulation of the problem satisfied certain right-wing bourgeois elements who saw the practical possibility of a social status quo in the world in peaceful coexistence of two different political systems.

We can say that these extremes in the solution of the interaction and intercommunication of the antiwar and national liberation movements failed to obtain spreading. The developing countries public turns down the left wing-

Mao Zedongist formulations. The right-wing bourgeois theory was poorly supported in the Third World. The greater support it was given in the developed countries, where the right-wing circles are active, for the social status quo concept, as I mentioned before.

Today ever more greater support is given to a middle or intermediate point of view which states that the antiwar movements in different countries, mainly in the developed, have no connections at all with national liberation movement, they don't intersect, don't interact and don't influence each other.

Such formulation of the problem which, unfortunately, is rather widespread hinders the activation of this former colonial and semi-colonial mass and the struggle for the prevention of a thermo-nuclear war.

But such position doesn't take into account, first of all, the results of the development of the mass annihilation weapons. In case of a thermo-nuclear war, we can speak only about the destruction of the whole of mankind.

You are quite right. The Soviet Union has long ago rejected the concept which existed at the initial stage of the atomic weapons development and which corresponded to a certain level of the development of the mass annihilation weapons. It was asserted then that the aggressor would perish in the flames of that war. But today will perish not only the aggressor. We can speak only about the annihilation of the whole mankind.

There have risen new, principally new, conditions which don't allow to solve the problems of the national liberation movement in isolation. But it's obvious that this statement cannot satisfy us. The speech is that the preparation to a thermonuclear war and the global arms race have a big minus for the developing countries and for solving the tasks facing them: social, political and economic.

The arms race hampers strengthening their sovereignty which was won in such a heavy struggle. In this connection we scientists must more widely and fully show to the public the fact that the power element in the US policy is gaining momentum and this is an obstacle to the consolidation of the sovereignty in the young states. At the moment Washington tries to intensify the confrontation against the Soviet Union not only on a global but on regional levels as well. Let's remember the military conflict in South-East Asia.

At that time America suffered the defeat in Vietnam and its forces had to be withdrawn from the region. The present administration nurses thoughts of revenge on the progressive forces. Military revenge. Such a policy envisages the drawing of the developing countries into the confrontation against the USSR which is in blatant contradiction with their interests. That leads to the growth of American military presence in the Third World, the number of American military bases, etc.

**What are economic consequences of the arms race for the developing countries?**

This is a second serious problem. It's absolutely clear that the preparation for a thermo-nuclear war and the arms race lay obstacles to the development of the developing countries, to their economic development. "If I owe you a dollar—that is my problem but if I owe you a million it's your problem too," said a well-known American economist about the huge foreign debt of Latin American countries only. That debt is not a million but amounts to 350 billion dollars—the half of this colossal sum of 700 billion dollars which the developing countries owe to the West, mainly to the USA. Up to now the foreign debt was increasing simultaneously with military spendings. But now military spendings grow faster. The latest calculations show that they amount to three trillion dollars. That problem worries all the countries, irrespective of their political orientation, which are in a desperate situation.

Militarization of these countries, is being instigated, the mini arms race is developing and their own military-industrial complex is being built.

It's known that additional eight billion dollars a year are needed for providing with food of over half a billion hungry people and 22 billion dollars a year for elimination of illiteracy and the most dangerous diseases. Where could these billions be taken from? Of course, from the colossal military spendings which are allocated today for modification and replenishing of military arsenals and not for the aims of raising the well-being.

UN experts calculated that from eight to ten per cent of annual spendings for armaments would be enough to solve the most urgent social problems of the Third World. Only 0.5 per cent of their current volume would be enough to create the necessary prerequisites for self-provision of the poorest countries with foodstuffs within the nearest years already.

Well-known are the initiatives of the Soviet Union: to reduce military budgets by ten per cent allocating part of the money saved for the assistance to young states as well as the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member-states about non-increase and reduction of military spendings. Nevertheless, those initiatives didn't meet positive response from the USA and its NATO partners. On the contrary, lately the NATO countries adopted a number of obligations for further increase of spending for military aims with the rates which can lead to their doubling in the coming 20 years.

The developing countries have the following picture: if in 1970 military spendings of these countries were 27.8 billion dollars or 7.2 per cent of the world's spendings, then in 1982 this figure raised up to 100 billion dollars or 19 per cent of the world's spendings. The developing countries have already overrun the developed countries by the share of military spendings in the gross national output—about six per cent. They maintain an eleven-million-strong army. This is also a heavy burden. It's counted up that one soldier, for example in Africa, "eats up" the same amount of means for his upkeep as is being spent now for social needs of 364 civilians.

Naturally enough, not all military spendings are unfounded. Some developing countries up to now have to rebuff the frenzied attacks by imperialism.

I would like to emphasize once again that the reason for such speedy militarization of the former colonial and semi-colonial world and the growth of military spending is the fact that these

countries are increasingly being drawn by the United States into the confrontation with the socialist world.

Still another moment. Such kind of militarization of the developing countries, which is an attribute of the preparations for the Third World War on the part of imperialism, creates a particular inner climate in the liberated countries which adversely affect their progress. The speech is about militarization and strengthening of dictatorial and fascist regimes. That fact also must be taken into account.

I think that the developing countries don't still become a large reserve from which the antiwar movement can replenish their forces. Perhaps we have here the influence of subjective positions of some peace movement organizations. But I want to underline that the WPC, and the Soviet peace champions also belong to it, see its worldwide character in the support of anti-imperialist actions of the developing countries on different continents. Such presentation of the problem is correct because it's not a mere solidarity and internationalism with these countries but it provides an opportunity to make a certain contribution to the cause of peace as the development of the national liberation movement weakens imperialism, thus weakening the threat of a thermo-nuclear war.

Today such traditional approach to the problems of the antiwar and national movements is already not sufficient. The speech is to turn the public movement in the Third World countries to the tasks which are directly connected with the struggle against the thermo-nuclear threat and against the arms race on a global level.

### Scientists' Appeal

Moscow XX CENTURY AND PEACE in English No 2, Feb 85 pp 32-33

[Text]

We, the scientists of the socialist countries, participants in an international conference devoted to studying the problems of peace and disarmament, appeal to research centres and all our colleagues in all countries with an urgent call to step up their efforts in the struggle for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

The world is now threatened with a danger unprecedented in history. The research of scientists in different countries, as well as the authoritative experts of the UN testifies that the use of even a small fraction of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons will lead to truly monstrous destructive consequences for humanity and the entire living nature of the planet.

In these extremely dangerous conditions the responsibility of scientists increases. The authority of science must be used first of all for the purpose of giving world public opinion the real picture of the scale of the impending catastrophe and the dangers of continuing the arms race, to show the hopelessness of the policy of strength and the urge towards military-strategic superiority, to demonstrate the inhuman character of militarization of the economy and social consciousness, the policy of building up the atmosphere of mistrust, suspicion and hostility between peoples and states. Relying on the resolution of the UN General Assembly on the right of the peoples to life and on condemning the use of nuclear weapons as a crime against humanity, we call upon the scientists of the world to raise their voice in support of the proposal on the non-first use of nuclear weapons, the prevention of the militarization of outer space, the complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests and the freezing of nuclear armaments quantitatively and qualitatively as the first step on the way to their gradual reduction all the way to their total elimination, on the impermissibility of the use of force for settling disputed international problems.

A new direction of science known as "peace research" has taken shape in a whole number of countries. It has brought together scientists of different disciplines—natural as well as social.

We, the scientists of the socialist countries, are ready for sincere and honest cooperation with the scientists of all countries in the struggle for the attainment of these noble aims.

The advantages of this or that social system and the cogency of ideology cannot be proved with the help of military force and the arms race.

Expressing the will of the peoples of the socialist countries for peace, we issue a call to pool the efforts of scientists in the struggle to affirm the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente on the basis of observing equality and equal security.

We call for fruitful cooperation in the name of the noble ideals of humanism and peace.

Scientists are called upon deeply to reveal the sources of the military threat, show the grave consequences of the arms race, the danger of thermonuclear war, help find the real ways of improving the international situation, the ways of using the scientific and technical potential for peace and raising the well-being of the peoples and solving global problems.

We can promote the development of the social anti-war movement by a scientific analysis of the heavy economic burden which militarization places on ordinary people. Nor is it possible to underestimate the moral-political and social-psychological damage done by the aggravation of the international tension and the whipping up of military hysteria in a number of countries.

Scientists must conceptualize the epoch-making results and lessons of World War II in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism and Japanese militarism. The correct elucidation of history and the dramatic consequences of that war must serve as a serious warning against a new military catastrophe.

We call on our colleagues to be even more vigorous in promoting a turn from confrontation to detente and restoring the climate of trust between states, and make an even more meaningful contribution to the cause of ending the arms race and preventing nuclear catastrophe.

May the International Year of Peace, announced by the United Nations, become the beginning of a real turn towards the relaxation of tensions and the consolidation of universal peace!

CSO: 1812/77



## INTERNATIONAL

### ISRAEL'S ACTIVITIES IN CENTRAL AFRICA DESCRIBED

Moscow SEL'SKAYA ZHIZN' in Russian 25 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by V. Golubev: "An Ominous Penetration: International Notes"]

[Text] What is Tel-Aviv looking for in Central Africa? The question is not at all rhetorical. The imperialist intrigues in Chad and Zaire demonstrate ever more convincingly, that Israel is advancing to the front line of Franco-American strategy in the region. The Tunis newspaper AT-TARIK-AL'DZHADID emphasizes that it is namely the United States and France, "under cover of the events in Chad," that are trying to inject Israel into the Central African region--as the champion of their anti-nationalistic policies, as well as to strengthen its own position there. It goes without saying that the strategists in Tel-Aviv use this in their own interests. They badly want that their political game in Central Africa would lead to the creation of a "new front line" of confrontation with the Arabs, which would promote the acceptance of Israeli conditions for "settling" the Near Eastern conflict. Relying on the favor of the imperialist capitals, Tel-Aviv itself, in the words of the London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, today displays a "particular activeness" in Africa. Extraordinarily large-scale schemes are being created in the geopolitical calculations of the Israeli expansionist leaders. The journal AFRIQUE-ASIE, published in Paris, shows into what anti-African "sacks on the mill" they want to bring together the countries of the region, turning them into accomplices of their "creeping" attack on the continent. For the Zionist leaders it is thought of in light of the dismembering of Africa "along the Israel-Egypt-Sudan-Zaire-South Africa axis." But since Angola is a "break point" in this strategic line, it is precisely against it that Tel-Aviv is organizing pressure, especially from Zaire. We present exceedingly interesting evidence in this regard from AFRIQUE-ASIE: "The Israeli embassy in the capital of the Republic of Zaire, in comparison with other diplomatic missions, is the most imposing in the size of its diplomatic staff. And this is not surprising. Tel-Aviv's special intelligence services use Kinshasa as their own sort of 'window' for penetrating the neighboring progressive African states. From there they infiltrate into Angola, the Peoples Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Benin, and Sao Tome e Principe. For special operations of this type they usually use Israelis from among the Sephardim (emigrants from African and Asian countries) who are on the embassy staff."



The Israelis' intensive rearmament of the Zairian "Kaman'ola" division, stationed in Shaba, which is the most unreliable region of the country from the point of view of the authorities, serves as confirmation of the particular activeness of Tel-Aviv in Zaire. It was near the Shaba city of Mobo last year and early this year that fierce battles raged between government troops and opposition insurrectionists. It is not ruled out that Israeli servicemen are meddling in this internal conflict, as it was during the civil wars in Zaire in 1977-78. In any case, it is already well known that the Israelis participate in patrolling operations of Kinshasa's troops at the Angolan border.

A discussion of the question of "changing the regime" in Launda had already taken place in November 1983 in the Zairian capital with the secret participation of the Israeli military advisor in Zaire, along with intelligence representatives of the United States and South Africa. He generously shared his "experience" in organizing sabotage. The following also occurred: in the course of the implementing of the Israeli reorganization plan for the Zairian armed forces, observers noted the "disappearance" of Israeli arms that later appeared in the possession of Angolan separatists.

Currently, the particular concern of Tel-Aviv is the creation on Zairian territory of a powerful base for the Israeli Air Force, which, in addition, could be used "in case of need" for the movement of rapid deployment forces of Israel's strategic ally--the United States.

If you take into account, as confirmed by the Israeli newspaper YEDIOT AKHRONOT, that Tel-Aviv has already agreed with Kinshasa on "technical assistance for the creation of another division in Shaba," then the question arises: don't the Israeli enemies of Angola intend to open up a "second front" against it from the north, and shove the Zairian authorities into this adventure? The first front from the south was opened long ago by Pretoria along with Israel. Many Israelis are occupied with servicing electronic equipment for tracking across Angolan territory or serve as mercenaries in the so-called South African "Buffalo Battalion," notorious for its bloody crimes. Secret camps, created by the United States and Israel, operate on Zairian territory, in which Angolan separatists are trained by instructors from these countries. We add, that many Zairian officers have already trained or are now being retrained in Israel, and Zairian commandos and presidential guards are being trained in Zaire itself by Israelis.

As the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR writes, Israel in this way basically helps Zaire with "military training." Israelis actually even lead Zairian contingents operating in Chad. It is characteristic that the Israeli advisors, as well as the South African mercenaries, prefer to hide behind the backs of Zairian soldiers. That is how it was, for example, during the destructive battles around the city of Abeche in Chad.

The Israeli military presence in Central Africa leaves no doubt, as the journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST writes, that the imperialists intend "to keep an entire region as a jumping-off point for their rule and exploitation."

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CSO: 1807/208

INTERNATIONAL

INDONESIA'S ECONOMIC, SOCIAL-POLITICAL FUTURE VIEWED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 6, 1-7 Feb 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Valeriy Fedortsov: "Indonesia - the Land of Three Thousand Islands"]

[Excerpts] Indonesia, the largest country in Southeast Asia, occupies the islands of the Malay Archipelago and the western part of the island of New Guinea. The territory of the republic consists of 1,904.4 thousand square kilometers, while the population exceeds 150 million people. More than 150 nationalities live in the country, the most numerous of which are the Javanese, the Sundanese and the Madurese. The country's official language is Indonesian. 90 percent of believers follow the Sunni branch of Islam.

Today, Indonesia is faced with many unresolved social and economic tasks. The dependence of the national economy on foreign capital, its vulnerability due to its one-sided export orientation, inherited from colonial times, its high unemployment level and the overpopulation of certain areas are only the most acute of these tasks. The country's government is undertaking efforts directed at the resolution of these problems. As observers note, mutually advantageous cooperation by the country with the Soviet Union would play a very important role in overcoming the existing economic difficulties.

Indonesia is called the land of three thousand islands. In fact, there are considerably more - 13,667. From on board an airplane, these islands, covered with dense tropical forests, resemble emeralds painted on the blue of the sea. 11 seas and 2 oceans surround Indonesia, which is situated on both sides of the equator.

After the cool cabin of the plane, the air in the Halim airport, on the island of Java, seems sticky with intense heat and moisture... We ride to the capital. The road runs through rice fields and palm groves and soars up onto a viaduct, construction of which was completed just last year, and the panorama of Jakarta opens before us.

The Dutch colonialists ruled Indonesia for about four centuries. Only 40 years ago, in August 1945, after achieving independence and proclaiming a republic, a new era in the life of the multinational people of this country

began. In recent years, Jakarta has turned into a modern city and has become the center of the political, economic and cultural life of Indonesia. Today, it lines its spacious areas with majestic monuments and avenues, framed with palm trees and perennially flowering shrubs. The inhabitants of this city are hospitable and good natured, emotional and cheerful.

Jakarta, though, like every capital, has its difficulties. Its rapid transformation into the major center of the country's economic life engendered many problems.

Overpopulation of the capital is one of the most vital problems. The number of its officially registered inhabitants has now exceeded 7 million. The city is expanding rapidly, taking over new areas from the neighboring villages. But the rate of population growth considerably exceeds its possibilities to offer a place to live to all those who want one.

"According to statistical data, the 'swelling' of Jakarta is basically occurring not as a result of the natural growth of its population, but on account of the endless flow of people from other regions of the country," says Maskup Ustianto, director of the bureau of population problems. "We are faced with very complex social problems. In order to cope with them, it has been decided to construct four and five storey apartment houses with low rents. Work on reconstruction and expansion of the sewage system is continuing."

The kampungs, the areas where the local poor people live, have spread out over the shores of Jakarta's canals. It is here that epidemics of dangerous diseases often break out. During the period of tropical rainstorms, the inhabitants of these areas leave their homes in order to save themselves from the raging elements, but afterward, when the water abates, they return.

"The problem of overpopulation in the capital is a 'headache' for the municipality," said the city's mayor, Supranto. "As one way of resolving it, we have considered moving industries to other cities, for example to Tangerang and Bogor. In a number of areas of the capital, the construction of enterprises is forbidden. We are placing great hopes on the migration campaign which is already being implemented by the government. This campaign does not involve Jakarta so much as it does the whole island of Java."

The area of Java comprises less than 7 percent of the country's territory, but 93 million out of the 150 million Indonesians live there. Scholars at the Djogjakarta "Gadja Mada" university have calculated that if the population of Java continues to increase at a rate of 2 percent in the future as well, in 250 years the inhabitants of the island will have to sleep standing up.

Islands are Awaiting New Settlers. The program of migration from Java, as well as from other large islands, particularly Bali and Madura, is helping to resolve many tasks. In the last five years, 625,000 hectares of new land have been opened by the migrants. This is a significant contribution to the

realization of the plan for the country's development. There are now 858 reception centers established for migrants in 20 provinces of the country. During the years of the fourth five-year plan (1984-1988), their services have been utilized by 750,000 families, or about 4 million people.

In implementing this program, the government is also resolving the problem of unemployment to a certain extent. The province of Irian Jaya alone has prospects for the reception of 80 million new settlers. In this way, a basis is being established to increase production of rice and other agricultural products. New regions are being developed mostly on the islands of Kalimantan and Sumatra. For the sake of comparison, let us present only two figures. Population density on Java today comprises more than 700 people per square kilometer, while on Kalimantan, in a number of regions, it barely reaches 10 people.

Successful fulfillment of the migration program depends largely on government subsidies. It is necessary to establish tolerable living conditions for people and ensure housing, agricultural implements, seed and fertilizer for them. The government pays for their trip and grants them monetary allowances. Each family receives 2 hectares of land. In settled regions, roads are built, schools are constructed and medical posts are established. Considerable resources are necessary for all this.

Many people want to move to a new residence. The authorities give preference to those families which do not have their own pieces of land. The new settlers, mostly people between the ages of 20 and 40, aside from rice cultivation, are occupied with cattle breeding and work on plantations given over to rubber trees, coffee, nutmeg and coconut palms. Those who have never been employed in agriculture may work in small enterprises devoted to processing agricultural products. Of course, all of this is not so simple. Winning land from the jungle and developing new plots is not within everyone's strength. Some migrants do not bear up and return to settled regions. But the majority remain and make a tangible contribution to the development of the national economy.

"Our country's economic situation is improving," said Professor S. Djojohadikusumo, one of the leading economists of Indonesia. "In 1982, the growth rate was 2.25 percent; in the following year it was 2.3; last year the figure increased to 4.2 percent, while in 1985, it will apparently be still higher - approximately 4.5 percent. But regardless of the present progress, it is not possible to be content, since we planned to achieve a 5 percent increase in annual production during the fourth five-year plan," the professor indicated.

Reality and Plans. After Indonesia's rapid economic growth during the 1970's, a certain lull set in, which is justly connected with the crisis that has enveloped the capitalist world. The government has taken a number of measures directed at strengthening the national sector of the economy, reducing imports, increasing the export of Indonesian goods (aside from oil and gas), placing a temporary "freeze" on projects requiring large expenditures,



and regulating the sphere of finances and taxation. This policy has brought about certain positive results.

As before, the basic source of revenue remains oil and gas, which account for 60 percent of the government's treasury income. The president has indicated the necessity of reducing the dependence of Indonesia's economy on this article of export, taking into account the instability of the (capitalist) world economy, which is experiencing a period of slump. "It should not be forgotten," said the president, "that supplies of oil and gas are limited and for that reason, it is imperative to reduce the role of oil products in the energy balance of the country and replace them with other sources of energy: coal, water power and ground heat."

Indonesian economists constantly speak of the importance of diversifying exports and, first of all, of expanding the export of industrial production. Progress in this direction has been planned. In the forthcoming financial year, the share of revenue from oil and gas will be reduced by 4 percent, in comparison with the current year.

The "Beryozka" on the Surabaya Road. The decision by the Indonesian government to introduce legislative changes directed at easing visa regulations and simplifying export-import operations with socialist countries received a broad positive response from the local population and the business circles. More than 350 Indonesian companies now have contracts with the governments of the socialist community. "There is no doubt," the INDONESIA TIMES noted recently, "that trade with the socialist countries is exceptionally beneficial, since it not only stimulates the export of Indonesian goods, but also promotes the allocation of technology and credits, which are necessary for the realization of plans for economic development."

A new impulse to the expansion of Soviet-Indonesian trade ties was given by the visit to Moscow of Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, the minister of foreign affairs, as well as by a delegation from the Indonesian chamber of commerce and industry.

"The internal political stability of a developing country depends to a great extent on its economic successes. The Western powers cannot satisfy the requirements of the Indonesian economy," said the former minister of foreign affairs and eminent Indonesian public figure, Ruslan Abdoelgani. "In the present situation, economic relations with the socialist states are simply imperative."

Developing this thought, one of the leaders of the Center for Strategic and International Research, S. Jiwandono, indicated that the necessity for intensifying relations with the socialist countries and expanding markets for sales is also dictated by the presence of protectionist barriers raised by the West. Links with the socialist countries, he noted, are not characterized by conjunctures of the moment, but are formed by the national interests of Indonesia.

The West has Recourse to Economic Blackmail. The main street of Jakarta is literally crammed with the offices of American, Western European and Japanese companies and banks, and with all possible types of agencies and bureaus. Their number began to increase rapidly after 1967, when the government of Indonesia announced its intention of conducting an "open door" policy. Foreign capital was given possibilities to manage its profits freely and invest money in any sector of the economy. Customs duties on the import of equipment were lowered or lifted altogether. A powerful flood of American, Japanese, Hong Kong and Western European capital poured into Indonesia. Japan now heads the list of investors, but one of the first to base itself in the republic was the American monopolistic giant, "Caltex." Its specialists immediately occupied themselves with the extraction of oil, the most important sector of the Indonesian economy. Now too, 70 percent of the country's income depends on oil and its export provides a large share of currency revenue. Proven reserves (approximately 10 billion barrels) permitted Indonesia to establish itself firmly among the ten largest oil producing countries of the world. Indonesian oil contains few sulphur impurities and for that reason is highly valued on the world market. The chief deposit is in the jungles of the island of Sumatra and it yields half of all the oil extracted in the country. The government of Indonesia renders significant aid to the national oil industry, particularly to the state company, "Pertamina," whose share in the extraction of this most important energy raw material is presently only 6 percent.

According to data of the center for control of capital investment, from 1967 to 1983, Japanese companies invested, in all, 4.9 billion dollars in 210 different projects. Investment by Western European countries comprised 2.776 billion dollars, while the USA invested 1.2 billion dollars in Indonesia, aside from the oil industry. Japan dominates in the textile, metallurgical, electronics and shipbuilding industries, as well as being occupied with maritime shipping. The USA has directed most of its efforts to the mining industry and banking, while Western Europe is engaged in the agricultural and hotel businesses.

At the same time, the government of the republic, as before, tries to utilize foreign capital as an "auxiliary factor." To this end, a broad campaign is being conducted to establish mixed enterprises, the shareholders in which are both Indonesian and foreign firms. 129 such enterprises are currently operating in the country. The committee on coordination of capital investment has also taken some measures in this plan. As the newspaper, COMPASS, reported, the right to invest capital is now granted not only to joint stock companies, but also to private companies and even to individuals. A number of limitations which hindered the flow of capital have been removed. On the whole, the local press has reacted positively to such steps and considers that they will yield the possibility of strengthening national companies and of opening new sources for the development of the economy. At the same time, new indulgences with respect to foreign capital carry with them the serious threat of its future penetration of the national economy.

Complex processes of national development are taking place in Indonesia, a country of ancient civilizations and sublime cultural monuments. War has been declared on poverty and backwardness, and there may be no doubt that the industrious, multinational Indonesian people will emerge honorably in the end from this war.

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CSO: 1807/237

# INTERNATIONAL

## TABLE OF CONTENTS: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA NO 1, 1985

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 3-4

### [Text] EDITOR'S COLUMN

Elections in Nicaragua.....	5
Orlando Millas, Member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile. Unity Against the Dictatorship Is Being Forged in Struggle.....	8
A. A. Sosnovskiy. Present Stage of the Latin American Peace Movement...	18
T. Ye. Vorozheykina. South America: Dictatorships in Crisis.....	33
V. D. Korolev. Monetary Protectionism as a Way of Resisting Imperialist Diktat.....	45

### ON THE 80TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

A. I. Sizonenko. Gomez Carrillo: '...There Will Be Many More Bright Pages'.....	53
--	----

### TNC'S AND DEVELOPING WORLD (RESPONSES TO DISCUSSION)

N. G. Zaytsev. Regional Cooperation and Ways of Opposing TNC's.....	56
Z. I. Romanova. Who Benefits from Integration?.....	66

### REPORTS

Haroldo Dilla Alfonso (Cuba). Evolution of Jamaican Foreign Policy (1962-1983).....	77
--	----

### USSR-LATIN AMERICA

Order of the Aztec Eagle Conferred Upon Soviet Researchers of Latin American Affairs.....	87
--	----

### MEETINGS AND INTERVIEWS

The Legacy of General Velasco Alvarado Lives On.....	88
With the People and for the People. A Conversation with Hector Mujica (Venezuela).....	94
The Front That Forced a 'Leopard' Retreat. Interview with Marcos Domich (Bolivia).....	103



## PAGES FROM HISTORY

B. V. Lukin (Leningrad). At the Beginnings of Russo-Peruvian Relations.....	109
---	-----

## ART AND LITERATURE

The Latin American Novel and Multinational Soviet Literature (Responses to Discussion).....	116
L. A. Kosichev. The Fate of Diego Rivera's Paintings.....	126

## 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF DISCOVERY OF AMERICA: MEETING OF CULTURES AND CONTINENTS

V. I. Gulyayev. New Foreign Publications About the Ancient Mayans..	133
---	-----

## BOOK REVIEWS

A. A. Sokolov. 'Contemporary Ideological Currents in Latin America,' Moscow, Nauka, 1983.....	141
I. A. Aleksandrova. 'Faces of Friends,' APN, Mexico.....	143

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8588

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INTERNATIONAL

EDITORIAL ON NICARAGUA ELECTION SUCCESS, U.S. 'INTERFERENCE'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 5-7

[Editorial: "The Elections in Nicaragua"]

[Text] Each of the Latin American people's successes in the struggle for democracy arouses great interest throughout the world. The first free democratic general elections in Nicaragua's history were an important international event of the past year. Freedom and democracy--the ideals for which many generations of Nicaraguan patriots fought--have become institutions in the nation and an inspiring example for the people of neighboring Central American countries. The general elections in Nicaragua were a unique event, and not only from the standpoint of Central American politics. They aroused the interest of the people of the entire continent because of the degree of election participation by the voting public (82 percent of the 1.5 million voters) and the political maturity of the masses.

The Reagan Administration had a "premonition" that this historic event would have a significant impact on Latin America and it therefore attempted direct "participation" in the Nicaraguan elections during the campaign. It used every means at its disposal. The "undeclared war" was sharply escalated in spring 1984. The U.S. embassy in Managua intensified its covert pressure on some political parties in the country. Three of them formed a so-called "democratic coordinating commission" (DCC), which was immediately involved in the campaign. Washington had organized in the international arena to discredit the domestic policy of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front]. The DCC then boycotted the elections, on the spurious pretext of the need for "dialogue" between the Nicaraguan Government and the counterrevolutionaries and the consequent need to postpone the elections until January 1985. The DCC's plan was a simple one: It would interrupt the process of democratic development in the country, portray itself as a victim of "Sandinist tyranny" and pave the way for U.S. armed intervention.

In spite of the escalation of aggression and political blackmail, Reagan and his stooges "failed" dismally in the Nicaraguan elections. The victory of the most representative political organization in Nicaragua--the FSLN (67 percent)--clearly proved that the Nicaraguans do not want anyone else to govern them.

The national and international significance of these elections, however, was not confined merely to this. Democracy is born wherever the people overthrow the military dictatorships set up by Washington. Otherwise, they must be content with merely the Salvadoran variety of "plebiscite." The essence and significance of these elections lie in the fact that the struggle for freedom and democracy in Nicaragua was waged as a struggle for genuine independence. This is why on 4 November 1984 the Nicaraguans did not simply acknowledge the 5-year-old achievements of the Sandinist revolution and cast their votes in support of the program proposed by the FSLN, but also displayed a firm resolve, despite the intrigues of domestic and foreign reactionary forces, to intensify the democratic process and defend the freedom of their motherland.

The institutionalization of revolution is not a new concept in politics. The legality of revolution depends on its correspondence to the desires of the broad popular masses. The general elections in Nicaragua, in which the wishes of the electoral and revolutionary majorities coincided, simply reaffirmed this fact. But they also proved that the revolutionary masses in the country are not against representative democracy. Active participation in the democratic process only gives it new meaning. The Nicaraguan people are establishing their own democracy. The elections completely refuted the U.S. arguments about the "illegality" of the Sandinist government.

This is not the first time the White House has made such statements about Nicaragua. They were also made in the past, when the United States committed its intervention in this country and occupied it. The armed intervention of that time was also cynically blamed on the need to secure Nicaragua's sovereignty and independence more effectively and assist it in holding free and fair elections. This assistance, as we know, led to the 42 years of Somoza's bloody dictatorship.

Just recently, Washington changed its tune slightly and began to talk about the United States' special mission to "defend the ideals of the free world" in the Western Hemisphere, reserving itself the "inalienable right" to send troops to any Latin American country. To this end, the White House's propaganda machine persistently spread rumors about the imaginary "Soviet threat" in Central America.

This myth was completely refuted by the actual state of affairs, the experience and practices of the Sandinist revolution and, finally, the elections in Nicaragua. During the campaign, in which seven political parties with differing ideological aims participated, Jean Ziegler, the famous Swiss politician, public spokesman and member of the Socialist International Bureau who was in Nicaragua at that time, said that the preparations for the elections were fully consistent with conventional standards. Obviously, he stressed, the elections would mark a great FSLN victory, and for this reason Reagan's missionaries in Western Europe have changed their rhetoric and are spreading rumors about election fraud. This was also the opinion of 500 observers from Europe, the United States, Canada, Latin America and Africa, parliamentarians from more than 20 countries and prominent political, public and religious leaders who witnessed the elections. In their opinion, only the atmosphere of constant U.S. provocation and the actions of the United States' stooges interfered with the normal electoral process in Nicaragua.

It is obvious that Washington's political behavior is not motivated by worry about the future of democracy. Its political aims are reflected in plans for a "second revolution" in America, which the White House is dreaming of accomplishing in its attempts to restore its empire at any cost and keep a strategic home front in reserve in the Western Hemisphere. These plans have aroused serious concern throughout Latin America, where countries are fighting for their "second" liberation. Evidence of this can be found in the democratization of the southern cone countries, the agony of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile and the efforts of the "Contadora Group" to settle the Central American crisis by peaceful means. It is indicative that the 31 Latin American foreign ministers who met at the OAS session in Brasilia to discuss economic issues nevertheless began the debates with the most vital issue of the day: the state of affairs in Central America and the escalation of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

It is possible that under these conditions Reagan's second term in office will "present" the world with new "arguments" to depict military intervention and aggression in Central America and the region as a "legal and moral duty" of the United States. Examples of this have already been seen. The United States is planning methods of "firm pressure" on Nicaragua, including the so-called "maritime quarantine," and the possibility of other "reserve" plans for stifling the Nicaraguan revolution cannot be excluded. This is why the Nicaraguan people who have learned the true meaning of democracy voted for the FSLN. The people are on the alert. Struggle has filled the people with courage and they are prepared to repulse aggression. It is in this persistent struggle that the process of Nicaragua's rebirth is continuing and national unity is growing stronger. The elected National Assembly (parliament) will soon draft the country's first truly popular constitution.

The telegram the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent Comrade Daniel Ortega Saavedra when he was elected president of the Republic of Nicaragua says: "The sympathies and solidarity of all those who cherish the ideals of peace and progress are on the side of the just cause of the Nicaraguan people, who have courageously defended their freedom and independence."

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INTERNATIONAL

CHILEAN COMMUNIST ON UNIFICATION OF ANTI-PINOCHET GROUPS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 8-17

[Article by Orlando Millas, member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile: "Unity Against the Dictatorship Is Being Forged in Struggle"]

[Text] Today the overwhelming majority of people in Chile, which fascism led to catastrophe, reject the present order and are seeking ways of restoring democracy. The country is living through an increasingly severe economic, social, political and moral crisis. The people are being stirred to action, and they are taking action with unshakeable fortitude.

But the tyrannical government still has powerful support. In the first place, it has been fostered by American imperialism: The Reagan Administration is giving it considerable assistance. Secondly, it personifies the authority of the most greedy families of the financial oligarchy and expresses the most reactionary aims of monopolistic capital in general. Thirdly, Pinochet can still rely completely on the armed forces, using them as his final and deciding argument. Nevertheless, the main factors keeping him in power are, in addition to all of the above, the fragmented nature of opposition forces and the absence of the kind of political consensus that would lead to the advancement of a clear, unifying and mobilizing alternative. This is, so to speak, an objective factor working to the benefit of the tyrant.

Pinochet has two styles of delivery when he speaks in public. The first is careless reading, in which he stammers and transposes the words and pages of speeches prepared for him by his assistants with university degrees, speeches which generally consist of highly abstract ideas from fascist ideology. These statements are attributed to so-called "guzmans," named after Jaime Guzman, the author of some pretentious antidemocratic theories and of several books, which, oddly enough, have been published as the dictator's own works. The second style is more natural and is used when Pinochet wants to improvise. He makes absurd statements in these cases as well, but they reflect the tyrant's strange lines of reasoning. He generally does this before he reads a prepared speech. Once he said: "Gentlemen, before I speak, I would like to say a few words...."

Just recently, during one of his spontaneous speeches, Pinochet boasted that he could still conduct his affairs without any worries because opposition forces were fragmented, could not come to any agreement and could not propose any kind of joint alternative to his regime. This is precisely one of the problems that must be analyzed.

What should be done in this situation? Or it would be more accurate to ask: What is being done under these circumstances?

Since the time when the threat of a coup d'etat became evident in Chile, particularly after it grew into a fascist putsch, and then during the entire 11 years of tyranny, the Communist Party has earnestly endeavored to unite all of fascism's opponents in a struggle for the cause of freedom. To this end, it has put forth, and is still putting forth, valid proposals on this matter and has persistently moved, and is still moving, toward an absolutely definite goal, striving for unity in specific situations, making an effort to mobilize other forces and establishing the prerequisites for the unification of various social strata.

#### The First Victory--The Organization of the People

Some political forces supported the dictatorship during the period immediately following the fascist putsch. This was the position, for example, of the two largest centrist and rightwing parties--the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) and the National Party. All of them were blinded by anticommunism. But even then, some prominent Christian Democrats, headed by Bernardo Leighton, the former vice president of the republic, and many rank-and-file members of this party and other organizations in the opposition in Allende's government, did not support the putschists. They spoke in support of democracy, condemned the terror the fascists had unleashed and expressed their solidarity with its victims.

Under these conditions, the Communist Party called for concerted effort to keep the popular masses organized and stated that no sacrifice was too great to ensure that trade unions and other mass organizations, regardless of their nature and sphere of activity, resume their work and create the new types of organizations dictated by changing circumstances. In the political sphere, the Communists stated the need to maintain the Popular Unity bloc, consisting of parties represented in Allende's government, and to form a front or alliance of all democratic forces, without exception, on the basis of an agreement between Popular Unity and the PDC.

Pinochet employed literally every method of dividing the popular masses. He dissolved labor, peasant, student, youth, cultural and other organizations, neighborhood associations and solidarity committees. Those who tried to organize the working class, the laboring public, peasants, the Araucanian Indians, women, students, young people and the inhabitants of urban neighborhoods and rural communities became the victims of state terrorism and the rabid brutality of Pinochet's gestapo--the CNI [National Information Center] (originally called DINA [National Intelligence Directorate]). Thousands of patriots were jailed, subjected to the most brutal torture, killed, missing or deported. A sea of blood was shed. Nevertheless, the people eventually

prevailed. Trade unions and other public organizations were revived everywhere, and this process was a covert one, constantly spreading to new regions. This was Pinochet's first major defeat and it laid the foundation for the mounting struggle of the future. When these processes were just beginning, the party advanced the slogan of civil disobedience and insubordination toward despotic and unjust laws imposed by force and called upon the people to fight for their rights, to release themselves from the bonds in which the government hoped to trap them, and to put an end to oppression, using any means necessary to this end, both peaceful and non-peaceful.

Demonstrations by the popular masses and their resolute struggle paved the way for antifascist unity. In previous years some politicians had put forth various arguments which were essentially capable only of postponing the actual resolution of this problem. One of these arguments was the primitive anti-communism of the armed forces and the United States. It was stated that any agreement with communists, regardless of who concluded it, would cause the army and imperialism to take an even tougher stand. The overwhelming majority of the population is quite aware, however, that there is no point in asking imperialist circles for favors in the struggle against the fascism these circles have engendered, and that antifascist unity is needed for its overthrow. This conviction has been manifested in concrete actions which are helping to change the situation.

#### Difficulties on the Road to Unity

After the coup, the majority of Popular Unity parties experienced a crisis. Several of them split into different factions, some of which advocated the creation of a new coalition. At that time the Christian Democratic Party announced a far-reaching plan for the unification of all rightist, centrist and leftist parties, with the exception of the Communists. As for traditional rightwing forces, the ones which had never taken the side of fascism formed a party called the Republican Right. The National Party also conducted the partial reorganization of its ranks in an attempt to dissociate itself from Pinochet and to become part of the opposition camp. Besides this, several other small groups were formed under the protection of the authorities, but they are preoccupied with in-fighting and do not represent any kind of substantial force. Therefore, Pinochet turned out to be in a state of absolute isolation.

It was in this atmosphere that the rightist-centrist coalition known as the Democratic Alliance was formed. It was initially a multipartite group. One of its aims was to minimize the role of the Communist Party, which was not invited to attend the unifying conference. The Democratic Alliance was made up of the Christian Democratic, Social Democratic and Radical parties, as well as the Republican Right and part of the earlier Socialist Party, represented by a federation of some of the factions into which this party had split. Just recently the Democratic Alliance was joined by the Liberal Movement Party, which also represents rightist forces and was once a branch of the National Party. Besides this, another coalition was also formed, consisting of some leftist groups that had broken away from Popular Unity, and was called the Socialist Bloc. This bloc united part of the Socialist Party, which also belongs to the Democratic Alliance, the Christian Left, the

Unitary Popular Action Movement--MAPU--and part of the MAPU-OC [Unitary Popular Action Movement--Workers/Peasants]. It is interesting that the Christian Left, representing one of the fundamental elements of the Socialist Bloc, and the MAPU have no connection with the Democratic Alliance coalition whereas the Socialist Party is represented simultaneously in the Socialist Bloc and in the Democratic Alliance.

Where then, one might ask, are the majority of the Chilean leftist forces which once created the popular front and then formed the Popular Unity government and inscribed the revolutionary statements of Salvador Allende on their banners? Most of their parties are in the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), which is not merely an alliance of parties, but a powerful organization supported by the population of the entire country. The so-called independent leftists and people who do not belong to any party have also joined this movement. But the major strength of the movement consists of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party headed by Secretary General C. Almeyda, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), a group continuing the policy of the previous MAPU-OC, and two socialist groups known as the Socialist Party of the 24th Congress and the National Coordinating Center of Regional Socialist Party Organizations. The Popular Democratic Movement has become a much more dynamic, militant and representative detachment in the struggle against tyranny.

Fascist legislation categorically prohibits any kind of activity by political parties and, in general, the very existence of parties and envisages the most severe penalties for those who try to engage in politics. Pinochet's gestapo is still committing monstrous crimes, terror and violence still reign in the country, but in spite of this, enthusiastic political activity has been resumed in Chile under the influence of the mass struggle and has radically changed the situation in the country.

Just a short time ago Pinochet was bragging that not a leaf could stir in Chile without his permission. Under present conditions, the dictator's boasts sound absolutely ridiculous.

Of course, the different political parties which have resumed their activity without waiting for the consent of the fascist government are certainly not in the same position. The majority of these parties are operating under relatively legal conditions, they have headquarters and their leaders are well known. Of course, they still take some precautions. Leftist parties, on the other hand, have to operate under completely different conditions. For example, the Communist Party has had to remain far underground, observing the strictest secrecy. In spite of this, however, Communists are always in the very midst of the population, working in the most diverse locations, and party documents expressing the party's views on each event always arouse so much interest that fascist newspapers have to print their "counterinformation" about these events.

#### All Antifascists Must Unite

After the various political forces had united in the three coalitions--the Popular Democratic Movement, the Democratic Alliance and the Socialist Bloc--



the need arose for these three groups and all other antifascists to reach a mutual understanding for the purpose of joint action against tyranny.

The national Communist Party conference in the middle of 1984 took a precise position on this matter. The accountability report said: "The achievement of mutual understanding by all democratic forces is progressing in a unique way. The Popular Democratic Movement and Democratic Alliance have already been formed. There is also the Socialist Bloc, some of the members of which also belong to the Democratic Alliance. The Popular Democratic Movement and other opposition forces have differences in outlook which are connected primarily with the class nature of these forces. At this stage, however, they agree on the main thing--the demands for the resignation of Pinochet, the formation of a provisional government and the organization of a constituent assembly. Consequently, we could say that today all of these currents are merging into a single stream. This unity is being engendered primarily within the midst of the popular masses, where all political differences are nullified by poverty, where suffering exceeds the limits of human tolerance and where violence has virtually become a part of life. This is why Marxists and Christians, the members of parties sympathizing with the opposition and people who do not belong to parties, are united here. This unity is being forged in the struggle by the broadest social strata and the entire population in general for their demands and their common political goals. Unity is also being achieved on the level of executive bodies, when they overcome narrow-mindedness and sectarianism."

This process is developing in different directions and has had to surmount the most diverse obstacles.

First of all, an important condition for the advancement of all democratic forces in Chile toward unity was the creation of a strong Communist Party, forged in the fire of fascist terror and capable of leading the large and dynamic organization of Communist Youth and the broad popular masses. Our party is the only absolutely cohesive organization without even a hint of dissent.

Secondly, the mounting public desire to begin the struggle was of great significance. Speaking on Moscow radio in connection with the 11th anniversary of the fascist coup on 11 September, Luis Corvalan reviewed the situation and underscored the following facts: "The dictatorship can only be overthrown by the force of the people with the use of all forms of struggle and united action by the opposition. This struggle precludes the kind of respites and cowardice that are characteristic of, for example, those who propose the modification of the fascist constitution instead of its absolute repeal. This approach to the matter creates confusion and demoralizes the masses. The active resistance and fearless demonstrations of the inhabitants of Pudahuel, San Miguel and other communes and settlements, on the other hand, enhance moral strength and promote broader offensive action; it is also promoted by the commendable behavior of the leaders and members of the Popular Democratic Movement, such as Jaime Insunza and Leopoldo Ortega, who chose to engage in arduous underground activity instead of emigrating, and by the decision of Ociel Nunez, Luis Godoy and Rene Largo Farias to refuse to seek

asylum in Argentina and Colombia and return to the country, although they are now situated in less than hospitable circumstances. These fighters have set a courageous example for all and have proved that the policy of civil disobedience is the road to unconquerable dignity and to victory.

The restructuring of mass organizations took place under the conditions of continuous struggle. An important role was played in this work by the National Administrative Labor Council, a body coordinating the actions of the executive committees of the trade unions formed in recent years. Headquarters were also established by student, peasant, women's and youth organizations and associations of displaced persons.

It is precisely on this common basis that the unity of all political forces should be established. This unity must be examined from several vantage points. The Communist Party assigns priority to the unity of revolutionaries, the convergence of groups with similar ideological outlooks, and it is precisely this that is now occurring within the framework of the Popular Democratic Movement, whose existence and activity are of tremendous significance for unification with other leftist forces. Later, on the basis of this unity, coordinated action by the entire opposition as a whole will have to be proposed and negotiated--that is, a mutual understanding will have to be reached with all of those who want to liberate the country from tyranny.

The rapid growth of activity by the masses has created favorable conditions for the attainment of these objectives. Recent weeks have been marked by the establishment of comradely cooperation between the Popular Democratic Movement and the Socialist Bloc. Socialists, Radicals and other members of the Democratic Alliance want to find a common language with the Popular Democratic Movement. Various parties have attended bilateral conferences with the Communist Party of Chile for an exchange of views and the consideration of possibilities for joint action. Therefore, the cause of unity is being furthered.

#### The September Offensive of Democratic Forces

The days of national protest last fall far exceeded all previous demonstrations in terms of scale and militancy and essentially paralyzed the country. One of the distinctive features of those days was the refusal of workers, members of displaced persons' organizations, students and members of other strata to confine themselves to previous objectives; instead, they continued to participate in more and more new demonstrations. One of the factors broadening the scales of the mass demonstrations was the work of the United Social Mobilization Headquarters, officially headed by forces from the Democratic Alliance, the Popular Democratic Movement, the Socialist Bloc, the National Administrative Labor Council, student, women's and youth organizations, associations of displaced persons and the Human Rights Defense Committee.

As a result of the joint action of broad forces, which easily found a common language and organized concerted demonstrations by millions of Chileans representing different classes and strata of society, the sociopolitical situation in the country underwent substantial changes.

In the abovementioned broadcast of 11 September, Luis Corvalan described the current situation: "The Communist Party is firmly convinced that the dictator can be overthrown if all opposition forces act in a united front, resolutely and with a sense of responsibility, and fearlessly take the risks and make the sacrifices our struggle might demand from us. The resignation of Pinochet, the formation of a provisional government and the organization of a constituent assembly are still demands capable of uniting all democratic forces. We Communists proclaim the people's right to disobey the authorities and we applaud all of the most diverse forms of struggle, both peaceful and violent. Some opposition parties preach exclusively peaceful methods. Experience has shown that peaceful and non-peaceful forms of struggle do not conflict with one another but are intersupplementary aspects of a single process of struggle, and that the main form of action depends ultimately on several objective factors and the will of the people, whose right to disobey becomes more indisputable each day in light of the tyrant's sinister intentions and the government's repressive actions."

We recognize the full range of opportunities, but we also see all of the difficulties of this struggle. American imperialism, which paved the way for Pinochet by force, is doing everything within its power to help him hang on. Reagan called the dictatorship his good friend and is helping him stifle the Chilean people's struggle for their freedom. We also cannot exclude the possibility that when Pinochet loses his last prop, Washington will instigate some kind of desperate action to save the regime and its fascist constitution even if it has to sacrifice the dictator for this purpose.

The broad-scale September offensive of the popular masses underscored the need for the complete unity of all forces wanting to restore the democratic order.

The public protests, which are taking on the distinct features of a nationwide refusal to recognize Pinochet's authority, are also clearly influencing the army.

Chile has reached a crossroads. On one side the dictator is striving to retain control of the armed forces in order to organize a terrorist counter-offensive, which he has referred to as "another 11 September." On the other side American imperialism is simultaneously playing two cards: If Pinochet is able to have his own way, it will support him, but if the tyrant encounters insurmountable obstacles, it will attempt to convince the army to reach an agreement with part of the opposition for the establishment of some kind of diluted bourgeois democracy aimed against the working class.

The future course of events is difficult to predict. There is even the possibility that the military and the entire opposition as a whole will find a common language for the purpose of national restoration and the establishment of a democratic system of government. Of course, transitional situations are also possible.

It is best, however, not to wonder what might happen and how it might come about, but to work toward the maximization of the mass struggle and toward a favorable outcome for the people.

In his broadcast of 11 September, Luis Corvalan said: "The people are eager to put an end to the disgraceful dictatorship. This means that each participant in the struggle, each labor and political leader, cannot stop, even for a moment, demanding the maximum of himself and devoting all of his energy to the organization of new and more decisive battles. Under these conditions--that is, in this atmosphere of mounting decisive struggle against tyranny--Chile will indisputably find a way to throw off the fascist yolk. For example, some parties are already paving the way for dialogue and agreement with the armed forces. We Communists do not exclude the possibility of this, but we must be guided by the actual state of affairs. We must remember, for example, that the army is still the dictator's main base of support and that it has committed numerous crimes. We must also remember the announcement of the Ministry of the Interior, which was certainly made on the dictator's orders, that the armed forces will not negotiate with any political party. This means that if the obstinacy of the dictator and his clique should prevail, the battle will become more fierce and furious with each day. Apparently, the only political outcome entailing a minimum of violence will involve negotiations with the army, which is still impossible at this time. If this should occur, the dialogue with the armed forces should take place at all levels, with the participation of the entire opposition. It can evolve into a concrete positive agreement only if the people exert intense pressure on the military, which will then have to agree to an actual return to democracy, and this will naturally entail changes in the structure of government, including military institutions."

This statement reflects our position in the struggle against our brutal and experienced enemy. We Chilean Communists are guided by the decisions of our last party congress: "Let us discard our illusions. Fascism will come to an end not as a result of a single battle and not through the efforts of a single segment of the opposition, but as a result of a series of big and small battles by all of the people of Chile, and these battles will continue until a state of nationwide civil disobedience has been reached, making things impossible for the tyrant to control and establishing the prerequisites for the decisive step of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship and restoring democracy."

The uncontrollable militant impulses of the masses are the chief guarantee of this future victory.

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INTERNATIONAL

LATIN AMERICA PEACE MOVEMENT SEEN IN SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 18-32

[Article by A. A. Sosnovskiy: "The Present Stage of the Latin American Peace Movement"]

[Excerpts] The late 1970's and early 1980's were marked by the dramatic growth of the peace movement throughout the world. The flagrant aggressiveness and adventurism of the U.S. administration's foreign policy line changed the views of broad segments of the population in Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan and also "aroused" the antinuclear consciousness of people in the developing countries. Millions of people now realize that they are being threatened by the actual danger of destruction. This has brought about a new wave of the peace movement, which is now becoming a tangible force in international relations and in the domestic political affairs of many states.

During a recent discussion organized by PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, speakers pointed out the following basic features of the peace movement in the 1980's: the unprecedented involvement and participation of the most diverse political forces in demonstrations against the nuclear threat; the appearance of many new national, regional and local (or provincial) peace organizations; the autonomous nature of the movement, independent of political parties; its purposeful, definite and clear demands; the absence of unrelated commitments and, in the majority of cases, action based on the principles of a broad agreement (or consensus); the variety of forms of public action.<sup>1</sup>

To a considerable extent, these features are also characteristic of the present stage of the peace movement in Latin America: Its organizations are becoming more representative, their members represent a broader political spectrum, new committees are being formed, including regional ones, and forms of action are growing more diverse. At the same time, the peace movement in Latin America is not as representative as, for example, the West European movement, is less capable of influencing political parties and governments and has a different nature and different immediate objectives.

The principled approach to the distinctive features of the peace movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America was formulated in the late 1970's. "An analysis of the nature of public participation in the struggle for peace and

international security in the developing countries points up the growth of its geographic dimensions and its aims. The people in the developing countries are investing the peace movement with their own view of its goals and are associating it with the resolution of problems of vital importance to them."<sup>2</sup> It is precisely in the peripheral regions of the capitalist world, where socioeconomic problems are particularly acute, that the dialectical interaction of the struggle for peace and the struggle for national sovereignty and social progress is especially apparent. Advances in the resolution of these problems can be made only in times of peace. Latin American communists are well aware of this. As the Conference of South American Communist Parties in July 1984 correctly noted, "the defense of peace throughout the world cannot be separated from economic, social and political reforms on our continent."<sup>3</sup>

The communists certainly do not have a "monopoly" on this definition of the aims of the Latin American peace movement. The daily sociopolitical realities of the region are making representatives of various political forces, the church, labor unions and others clearly aware of the connection between the problem of keeping the peace and the struggle for democracy, social justice, the eradication of economic underdevelopment, and national sovereignty. "The fighter for peace must necessarily be a fighter against tyranny, for democracy, for human dignity and for the cultural unity of our peoples," said the coordinator of the Continental Movement for Latin American Unity, Luz Elena Zabala (Colombia). "Freedom, independence and peace are objectives that cannot be attained separately. They are indissolubly connected to one another," stressed Jorge Chiriboga, parliamentary deputy from Ecuador's Socialist Popular Party.<sup>4</sup>

The connection between general and "local" issues, between the problems of disarmament and the objectives of the liberation struggle in the region, is not always, however, perceived "smoothly" by members of the movement. "Rough edges" are possible, and so are attempts to deny the importance of anti-nuclear demonstrations and the struggle for disarmament to the people of Latin America. Venezuelan clergyman and public spokesman G. Finol made an indicative remark in this context: "Discussions about peace without justice mean nothing to us. Our people do not understand them because their atomic bomb is hunger.... People in Europe and Latin America frequently take different approaches to the same problems."<sup>5</sup>

In recent years, however, there has been a tendency to surmount this viewpoint. This has been particularly noticeable in the largest countries of the region--Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico--where people are growing increasingly aware of their connection with the global problems of peace and disarmament. This is attested to, in particular, by the antinuclear demonstrations of 1982-1984 in Rio de Janeiro, Caracas and Sao Paulo, the signing of the "Appeal of the 100: For the Preservation of Life"<sup>6</sup>--an appeal to political leaders from prominent representatives of the Argentine cultural and scientific communities for nuclear disarmament--by thousands of Argentines in 1984, and other actions, including antimissile demonstrations.

Nevertheless, the Latin American peace movement is still distinguished by a less distinct "image" as just a peace (antinuclear and antimissile) movement

and a stronger connection than in Western Europe, for example, to general democratic demonstrations and processes.

It is no coincidence that many of the names of national peace organizations in Latin America record this connection--the Cuban Movement for Peace and Popular Sovereignty, the Venezuelan Council of Peace and Human Rights, the Peruvian Movement for National Sovereignty, International Solidarity and World Peace, the Costa Rican Council of Peace and Solidarity, the Panamanian Committee for the Defense of National Sovereignty, Solidarity and Peace, the Bolivian Committee for the Defense of Peace and Democracy and others.

The natural connection between the problems of peace and social justice in Latin American social movements understandably gives them more radical features than movements in developed capitalist countries and makes their slogans more political. This is characteristic not only of the peace movement and other social demonstrations, but also of political parties and public organizations in the region. A comparison of the documents of Latin American and West European social democrats, Christian democrats and the feminist and youth ecological movements will provide sufficient proof of this.

The definitely political tone of peace movement slogans in Latin America makes the peace organizations more homogeneous and facilitates unification, but it still is not mobilizing all of the colossal potential of public antiwar feelings. As a result of this and other factors (a lesser awareness of the nuclear threat, the absence of accurate information about its nature, scales and consequences, etc.), fairly broad segments of the population, the same segments which constitute the mass base of peace demonstrations in other regions, are not involved in the peace movement at all. The main factor, of course, is the severity of socioeconomic problems in Latin America. The relatively late arousal of public antiwar feelings in the region, however, has been due in part to its distance from the "theater" of the two world wars and the fact that violence has always been part of the Latin American political tradition, while pacifism, with its attitude toward violence based exclusively on moral and ethical values, often with religious overtones, has not been widespread.

Besides this, "peaceable" demagoguery is frequently used by the most reactionary circles and by pro-imperialist forces in today's Latin America to justify "internal warfare" against their own people. Vivid examples of this can be found in the cynical statements about the "regulation" of the crisis in Central America, made by the heads of the most odious dictatorships, who find justification for repressive actions in the need for "pacification." This naturally arouses negative reactions from the broadest segments of the Latin American public and often puts people with radical anti-imperialist views outside the active ranks of the peace movement.

In recent years, however, there has been a definite upsurge in antiwar feelings in certain Latin American circles. There are several reasons for this: the real growth of the danger of war and its recognition throughout the world, a sense of the common destiny of all mankind, the increased participation of Latin American countries in the nonaligned movement and the influence of European pacifist organizations (for example, the influence of the West German

"Greens" on peace organizations in Brazil, where a broad-based "related" association, the Brazilian Pacifist Movement, was established in 1984). The history of the peace movement has shown that the last factor is often used by circles wanting the peace movement to evolve under the slogans of "equidistance," "the equal responsibility of the superpowers" for the current tension in the world, etc.

In Latin America the inclusion of new strata in the peace movement under these slogans would signify a step backward. The very history of the regional peace movement is primarily a history of struggle against the continuous aggression of U.S. imperialism. This history and present political realities clearly indicate the real origins of the threat to peace on the continent. This fact is being taken into account more and more by the organized Latin American peace movement. "Latin America provides an example," stressed Comrade B. N. Ponomarev, candidate for membership in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "of the way in which the aggressive, interventionist policy of the United States gives rise to a powerful wave of anti-Americanism.... There is reason to believe that the mass anti-war, anti-imperialist movement is growing on the continent."<sup>7</sup>

What are the Latin American peace movement's main, most promising areas of activity?

The main one is still the resistance of the aggressive U.S. militarist policy line. This is the clearest reflection of the strong potential of the Latin American peace movement to make a tangible contribution to the global struggle for peace and disarmament. As the resolution of the Continental Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Peace Movements in July 1984 in Guayaquil (Ecuador) stressed, "at this complex time, when the future of our peoples is at stake, fighters for peace must forget their political and ideological differences and unite their efforts to expose the instigators of war, prevent the repetition of aggression on the continent like the actions committed against Grenada and defend the inalienable right of peoples to build a peaceful future for themselves."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the energetic activity of Latin American peace organizations against imperialism's aggressive behavior is now more likely to be viewed as part of the worldwide struggle for disarmament and is connecting the specifically Latin American situation with the common objectives of the antinuclear, antimissile struggle. In this way, the advancement of slogans of worldwide significance in Latin America is becoming a requirement related to continental realities.

This is why virtually all of the specific areas of activity of Latin American peace organizations are directly connected with the struggle against imperialism's aggressive policy. Actions to promote the peaceful settlement of the Central American crisis now occupy the most important place in their struggle.

The campaign to expose imperialism's "Falkland adventure," which revealed the real aims of what the United States calls "inter-American solidarity" to its southern neighbors and also revealed the outlines of the direct nuclear threat to the continent, was of great importance to the peace movement. It is no



coincidence that the "Appeal of the 100: For the Preservation of Life" stresses that numerous demonstrations in our countries have demanded a nuclear freeze and the destruction of nuclear arsenals. Argentina must add its voice to these common demands. This became all the more important when a foreign military base was established on the Malvinas Islands.

The demands for an end to Washington's interventionist policy are directly related to the prevention of local conflicts. Solidarity with the people of Grenada, who were subjected to U.S. intervention, and the condemnation of the undeclared war against Nicaragua, the armed intervention in El Salvador and the provocations against Cuba occupy an important place in the activities of supporters of peace in Latin America.

The peace-loving public's struggle against the establishment of foreign military bases in Latin America is still going on. It is one of the most important spheres of activity by the supporters of peace in Central America and the Caribbean, where the presence of these bases is felt quite strongly.

The demands for an end to the U.S. attempts to revive military agreements with several countries in the region and involve them in new military pacts are important within the context of the antiwar demonstrations of Latin American fighters for peace.

In recent years Latin American peace organizations have intensified the struggle for the nuclear-free status of Latin America and for the declaration of zones of peace in the region. Today this is closely connected with the support of the peaceful initiatives of several Latin American states, particularly the "Four Continents Initiative" (May 1984)--a document co-authored by the presidents of Argentina and Mexico--and the efforts of the "Contadora Group" to create zones of peace in Central America.

Solidarity with the struggle for national liberation, democracy and human rights is still of fundamental importance to the Latin American peace movement. Its reserve strength is more active cooperation with regional organizations defending democracy and human rights and exposing the political crimes of imperialism and its agents. The contacts between peace organizations and the Latin American Association for Human Rights (with its headquarters in Quito, Ecuador) are an example of this kind of cooperation. For instance, a conference organized by this association in Montreal (Canada) in March 1984 and attended by members of peace organizations, including the WPC [World Peace Council], stressed that "Washington is responsible for the rapid militarization of Central America and the mounting danger of regional warfare." It is indicative that the forum participants who adopted an obviously anti-imperialist resolution represented the most diverse political forces. In July 1984 an international conference on the interrelated struggles for peace, democracy and human rights in Latin America was held jointly in Quito by the Latin American Association for Human Rights and the WPC.

Possibilities for cooperation with religious pacifist associations are not being used to the maximum. These associations include the Catholic organization, "Peace and Justice," which has branches in the majority of Catholic dioceses in Latin America and which is particularly active in Brazil and the

Central American countries; the continental organization, "Justice and Peace" (with Nobel Peace Prize winner A. Perez Esquivel as its coordinator), and others.

The severity of economic problems in the Latin American countries, particularly in connection with the unprecedented growth of the foreign debt, inflation and the intensification of the protectionist trade policy of the United States and other Western countries, is promoting the merger of the struggle for peace and disarmament with the struggle against imperialist diktat in the economic sphere. This relatively new area of struggle for the Latin American peace movement is quickly gaining importance, and this is attested to by the latest Continental Conference of Latin American and Caribbean Peace Movements in Guayaquil.

The struggle for cuts in military spending is growing, especially in Brazil and Argentina.

The movement for the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes is growing in several Latin American countries.

Finally, the primary objective is the continued augmentation of the peace movement's political potential and the transformation of the movement into an effective force of the democratic masses. Real possibilities here are being created by the national peace movements' efforts to form broad alliances with other social and political organizations. These possibilities differ in different countries, but they do exist, and their implementation will depend largely on the activity of fighters for peace and on their desire to seek new ways of combining antiwar demands with general democratic aims.

The peace movement in Argentina is one of the oldest and most active on the continent. It is represented by the Argentine Peace Council (CAP), founded in 1949. Representatives of several parties participate in its work, including the Communist Party of Argentina, the Radical Civic Union, the Justicialist Party and the Intransigent Party, as well as members of labor, women's and youth organizations, and recently of religious organizations as well. The CAP has branches in the majority of Argentine provinces and in regions of Greater Buenos Aires. The council has standing commissions on disarmament, development and the affairs of youth, it publishes a bulletin and it cooperates actively with the WPC. In addition to explaining the global problems of peace and disarmament, the council is engaged primarily in a struggle against the transformation of the Malvinas Islands into a NATO military base, for the restoration of Argentine sovereignty over the islands and against the attempts to create a South Atlantic military pact (SATO). The Argentine Peace Council participates actively in the movement for solidarity with Nicaragua and the people of Central America and is publicizing the antinuclear declaration of the heads of six states and governments on four continents, one of the initiators of which was R. Alfonsín.

The intensification of the democratic struggle in Brazil in recent years has also affected the national peace movement. After a period of almost 20 years during which activity by peace organizations was prohibited (the Brazilian Peace Council has existed since 1949), these organizations have now become

much more visible. The Brazilian peace movement is now represented by the Brazilian Council for the Defense of Peace (CONDEPAS), with Academician A. Weiss as its president, the Brazilian Center for the Defense of Peace and Ecology (headed by outstanding architect O. Niemeyer) and the recently founded Brazilian Pacifist Movement (MPB). The first two are partners of the WPC. Antinuclear and ecological demands are more prominent among the aims of the peace movement in Brazil than in other Latin American countries. The methods of struggle of European peace movements are used extensively here (marches, leaflets, buttons, posters and antiwar rallies). Branches of peace organizations, especially of CONDEPAS, were opened in many Brazilian states in 1983 and 1984. Pacifist currents are also quite active in Brazil. The MPB, which evolved out of these currents in summer 1984, is supported by a broad range of political, social, religious and labor groups. The organization of united action, however, is still the major problem of Brazilian forces for peace.

The history of the Mexican peace movement is full of ups and downs. After its successful establishment in 1949 and the mass demonstrations of the early 1950's, headed by such outstanding leaders as L. Cardenas, B. Lombardo Tolmedano and D. A. Siqueiros, the movement experienced an ideological crisis and split when some of its members took an ultra-leftist stand and alienated many Mexican supporters of peace. A new upsurge of the struggle for peace in Mexico began in 1967 in connection with the campaign for solidarity with the people of Vietnam. It acquired an organizational framework in the early 1970's during the Mexican public's preparations for participation in the World Forum of Peace-Loving Forces in Moscow (1973). The Mexican Peace Movement was founded in 1975, and the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) began to participate in its work. The movement is extremely broad, conducts demonstrations in support of peace and campaigns for solidarity with freedom fighters and cooperation with the WPC.

The Cuban Movement for Peace and Popular Sovereignty (MOPAS) plays an exceptionally important role in the Latin American peace movement. It has traditionally had a mass base. As early as 1949, over 2,000 people attended a national peace conference. Cuban fighters for peace have cooperated actively with the WPC and have joined the movement for solidarity with freedom fighters. At present, MOPAS has a network of branches throughout the country, it publishes the magazine PEACE AND SOVEREIGNTY and it supports peaceful forces in other Latin American countries.<sup>10</sup>

All of the national peace organizations are experiencing an acute need for coordinated action. This function is partially performed by the periodic continental peace conferences, which in recent years have been held in Mexico (1978), Havana (1981) and Guayaquil (1984). The problem of coordinating the actions of the Latin American peace movement, however, has still not been solved. The establishment of the WPC Information Center in Havana (with the aid of MOPAS) at the end of the 1970's was a definite step in this direction, but it certainly cannot fulfill all of the needs for coordinated anti-war actions in the region. There is no question that the continued evolution of national movements into an important political factor of the present day will aid in solving this problem.

The potential capabilities of the Latin American peace movement and its anti-imperialist "thrust" are based, as speakers stressed at the Conference of South American Communist Parties, on the existence of a real conflict between the imperious goals of the United States and the fundamental national goals of the Latin American countries,<sup>11</sup> and they are still in the process of disclosure. Only active and consistent efforts on the part of national peace organizations and persistent attempts to organize united action with all democratic forces can turn this movement into a powerful international factor counteracting the danger of war and preserving world peace.

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CSO: 1807/204



12 April 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## TNC DOMINANCE IN LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION VIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 66-76

[Article by Z. I. Romanova: "Who Benefits from Integration?"]

[Excerpts] The strategy and tactics of Latin American integration policy took shape under the influence of national and regional factors and also under the direct influence of transnational capital. It would be impossible to understand the essence of integration processes and assess their immediate and long-range prospects without a thorough investigation of the role of TNC's, which occupy strong economic and political positions in the region.

In recent decades economic integration has turned into one of the key processes with a direct effect on Latin America's socioeconomic development. It is associated with the hope of the accelerated economic growth of countries in the region and a change in their position in the system of international capitalist division of labor. The integration ideology is based on the thesis of "self-reliance," which essentially challenges the existing system of dominance by international capital. Transnational corporations have been unable to counteract this unification process, which is developing from within and is acquiring nationalist overtones. After assessing these new trends, international monopolist capital made an effort to put this process at the service of its own interests.

## The Race for Profits

Under the conditions of intense competition in international trade (particularly during the world economic crisis of 1957 and 1958), the expansion of exports would have created additional complications. Under these circumstances, the problem of sales markets was one of the main drawbacks in transnational mass production. The further expansion of the production base of TNC's in the region required a number of structural reforms to secure a rise in domestic effective demand and thereby influence profit norm dynamics. Priority was assigned to agrarian reform, but it was precisely agrarian reform that was most vehemently opposed by the "traditional" TNC's, which were engaged primarily in the agribusiness; furthermore, it also affected the economic interests of their main allies--the large local landowners. Reforms in agriculture would also have had a direct effect on corporations connected

with modern branches of the processing industry, because they could provide the momentum for cardinal changes in other branches of the economy.

This was naturally the reason that the TNC's chose the simpler and relatively harmless option of uniting small and isolated national markets and creating a regional market on this basis. The removal of internal customs barriers gave private foreign capital a chance to sell goods produced on a broader scale and created the prospect of a rise in domestic demand.

An important role was played by the fact that the countries of the region hoped to institute a uniform external tariff in the future and "shut themselves off" from the rest of the world with a customs barrier. Local branches of TNC's would have a definite advantage over other foreign firms in sales in the regional market.

Finally, the liberal policy of Latin American governments with regard to foreign capital investments was of considerable significance. When the first integrated groups were being formed (at the beginning of the 1960's), there were no restrictions whatsoever on TNC activity in the private sector in the countries of the region or on the transfer of profits abroad. Under these conditions, the TNC's made a vigorous attempt to penetrate the region "through the back door" by means of broader investment activity in integrated spheres.

"The TNC's never took a neutral position on integration processes in the developing countries," remarked Latin American researcher C. Vaitsos. "On the contrary, they represented an important determining factor in regional integration. They influenced policymaking in some countries and often played the dominant role in the implementation of policy."<sup>2</sup> During the initial stage of the organizational period of integration, the TNC's expressed an interest in laying its legal foundation. In an attempt to influence the creation of integration machinery, representatives of international capital participated directly in various conferences. "Several companies," reported FORTUNE, the American magazine, "already have representatives in Montevideo, where the LAFTA [Latin American Free Trade Association] has its headquarters. They have had a direct effect on its customs liberalization policy."<sup>3</sup> By infiltrating regional organizations, the TNC's were able to coordinate the activities of their affiliates on the continental level, distribute functions and spheres of activity among them, arrange for the optimal investment of capital and organize the specialization of countries in the region in accordance with the needs of capitalist industrial centers.

#### Dependence Grows More Pronounced

To subordinate the integration process to their own interests, the TNC's made extensive use of the "reciprocal action agreements" (on industrial cooperation), which began to be signed in the middle of the 1960's. In accordance with these, two or more countries would establish "free trade" in certain manufactured goods, thereby creating something like a micro-common market for a few branches of the processing industry. These agreements are important to enterprises engaged in mass production and needing larger sales markets. They primarily include branches and affiliates of TNC's, whose profits depend

directly on sales volume. It is no coincidence that representatives of international capital are in the majority at almost all conferences where such agreements are drafted, particularly if they pertain to the electronics, electrical equipment, chemical and pharmaceutical industries.

By participating in the drafting and signing of documents on industrial cooperation, the TNC's acquire an opportunity to unite their affiliates in a single production system, establish centralized control over the activities of the national firms making up this system and intensify the exploitation of the raw materials and labor resources of integrated countries. The last consideration seems particularly important. The sphere of TNC operations in the fuel and raw material industry is growing smaller, and for this reason they have more difficulty in securing raw materials and energy resources. Involvement in the integration process, however, gives foreign capital access to this branch of the Latin American economy.

The TNC's have greater production, technical and financial potential than national companies and they consequently benefit the most from integration, especially its industrial form. A special study conducted 10 years after the first agreements were signed said that the region had "no national investments made for the purpose of gaining advantages from lower customs duties, and there are no two countries which have begun any kind of cooperative production. Intersupplementary production units in Latin America have been established only by foreign enterprises, such as Philips or IBM."<sup>4</sup>

It is significant that the "reciprocal action agreements" are concluded on the governmental level, although they are drafted by representatives of the private sector. The official screen allows TNC's to operate more confidently within the integration framework and gives them certain guarantees for the future.

After the LAFTA became the LAIA [Latin American Integration Association] (in 1980), earlier documents were reviewed. It is indicative that the abovementioned agreements were among the first to be ratified. The fact that they were of considerable interest to TNC's was one of the main reasons for this. At the end of 1983 there were over 20 such agreements within the LAIA framework in the electronics, chemical, pharmaceutical and glass industries and other industries where transnational capital held strong positions. The agreements also exist within the framework of the Andean Group (in the petrochemical, metalworking and automotive industries). These agreements are of great interest to TNC's because they create the necessary conditions for heightened production specialization and, consequently, for lower overhead costs. Besides this, they are based on a government policy of stimulating exports. For example, the automotive industry in countries of the subregion has been monopolized by affiliates of TNC's. The granting of commercial and customs privileges on the governmental level strengthens their position in production and in foreign trade. Besides this, the "legalization" of activities by foreign companies on the basis of agreements gives them a chance to establish stronger ties with national suppliers and subcontractors. From this standpoint, it is not surprising that control over sectorial programs of industrial development in the Andean Group "is concentrated in the hands of transnational corporations."<sup>5</sup>

The intensification of the integration "syndrome" of TNC's is directly connected with the economic and social privileges and advantages resulting from the unification of the potential markets of integrated states. The cancellation of internal tariffs and the institution of a high external tariff (a uniform external tariff has already been instituted, for example, in the Andean Group, and partially in the CACM [Central American Common Market]) not only guarantee expanded sales of TNC products but also the possibility of selling these products at higher prices than in the country where TNC operations are based, thereby guaranteeing additional profits.

The significance of integration grew when several branches of the extractive industry were nationalized in the region. The TNC's are now investing the funds thus made available in the processing industry, where particularly favorable investment terms have been established for the development of this industry during the course of the integration process. It is precisely in this sphere of the economy that the network of TNC branches and affiliates geared to the regional market is displaying the quickest growth. Enterprises contributing to the development of production and export within the integration framework receive maximum support, regardless of their ownership, from the national agencies of host countries.

The fact that some of the affiliates of TNC's have turned into mixed enterprises and have been successfully camouflaged behind national storefronts is also helping to strengthen transnational corporate positions in the emerging Latin American common market. For example, the Mexican automobile firm Fabricas Automex is actually controlled by the American Chrysler Corporation, which owns 33 percent of the stock. The latter arranged for the delivery of components and parts to its affiliates operating in integrated Latin American countries, from which it then receives the components it needs, but at lower prices.

Attempts to subordinate the process of integration to the interests of transnational capital were intensified in the 1970's and 1980's, when the integration mechanism was reorganized by the largest regional group--LAFTA. Although the TNC's made a show of active support for the unifying process, they simultaneously used every means of pressure to prevent the restriction of any of their rights by the new organization of Latin American countries. It is no coincidence that the charter of the "Montevideo Treaty-80," which became the legal foundation of the LAIA, contains no statements defining common policy on foreign capital and restricting TNC activity. On the initiative of Argentina (the military regimes in this country have been actively encouraging foreign investments since 1976), the organization resolved that each member could conduct an individual policy with regard to foreign capital investments. As a result, TNC branches and affiliates received the same privileges and advantages in regional trade as national companies.

#### Contradictions in the Regional Approach

Participation by TNC's in integrated sectors of the economy is one of the cardinal problems facing the Latin American countries. The official policy of ignoring this problem (foreign capital is not mentioned in the first integration documents--the "Montevideo Treaty" and the "Managua Treaty") and the



Inconsistency of restrictive policy precluded the attainment of some of the projected goals of regional and subregional integration.

Many Latin American researchers have correctly noted that the development of unifying processes has been accompanied by increased dependence on capitalist centers. Prominent Argentine economist A. Ferrer stated, for example, that "integration can promote both independent and dependent development. In the absence of elements of resistance...international corporations derive the greatest advantages from the liberalization of regional trade. By employing financial and commercial leverage," Ferrer went on to say, "international corporations can make use of the benefits of integration to a much greater extent than national companies. As far as the Latin American countries are concerned, their underdevelopment is merely being intensified under these conditions."<sup>12</sup>

C. Vaitsos, for example, underscores the importance of determining "just who is integrating, and with whom," pointing out the fact that integration can take place between the branches of a single foreign corporate system and between the head enterprises of TNC's and other countries. The researcher underscores the fact that integration sometimes signifies "a process of denationalization in favor of countries outside the region and of foreign interests."<sup>13</sup>

As the integration process developed, worries about increased dependence gradually evolved into regional resistance of TNC expansion. Under these conditions, the advancement toward integration slowed down. For example, cooperation in the automotive industry declined dramatically. Integration within the LAIA framework in this industry has been conducted quite slowly and without any kind of legal foundation, because almost all local automobile companies belong to giant foreign corporations. With the aid of the integration machinery, they are striving to establish complete control over the activities of national suppliers and subcontractors and to divide up the sales market at their own discretion.

The countries of this region pursued a more radical policy toward TNC's in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Realizing that transnational corporations would make every effort to prevent national industrial development, the members of the group formed in 1969 decided to work out a common stand on the foreign monopolies operating in the subregion. At the end of 1970 the "General Rules of Relations with Foreign Capital, Patents, Licenses and Trade-marks," known as "Decision 24," were approved. This was the first attempt by developing countries to pursue a common policy in this sphere. The document went into effect in the middle of 1971. At that time all integrated countries pledged to establish control over foreign investments (presupposing the registration of investments, the definition of their operational conditions and the gradual transfer of foreign companies to national or mixed ownership). Since this control was standardized for all members of the group, the TNC's had much less opportunity to maneuver within the association framework.

With a view to the tremendous role of the credit and finance system in economic development, the Andean states added a provision to the "General Rules" prohibiting new foreign capital investments in insurance, commercial banking

and other financial institutions. Participation by TNC's in the mass media was prohibited.

At first the foreign corporations took an obviously negative stand on the new law. Later, however, when they realized that they could not stop the negotiation of collective restrictions and that any attempt to do so would put them outside the process of subregional integration, they tried, and with some success, to make at least partial changes in the "General Rules." In particular, a provision was added to exclude restrictions on foreign companies producing goods primarily for export to third countries. In October 1976, under pressure from the TNC's, the countries of the Andean Group adopted "Decision 103," in accordance with which the portion of profits transferable abroad was increased from 14 to 20 percent. Other restrictions were simultaneously reviewed and considerably relaxed. At the beginning of the 1980's some countries of the group allowed foreign companies to transfer up to 30 percent of their profits abroad under the influence of the world economic crisis and under stronger pressure from the TNC's.<sup>14</sup>

As a result of the erosion of restrictive policy, the flow of foreign capital investments into the economies of the integrated countries grew perceptibly stronger. The TNC's ceased to threaten economic sanctions in response to the enactment of this law and moved on to discerning criticism of some of its provisions, primarily connected with the import of technology. Furthermore, in the fear that West European and Japanese rivals would take advantage of the situation to strengthen their own position in the subregion, the most aggressive of the American corporations decided it would be best to reconcile themselves to the "new conditions" of operation and even to consent in some cases to minority participation in Latin American national companies.

As time went on, it became clear that the relaxation of policy toward TNC's in various spheres could bring about a new period of dependence. Chilean researcher F. Davis has made the accurate observation that if "the liberalization of mutual trade during the process of economic integration is not accompanied by a coordinated policy of industrial development and a common attitude toward foreign capital, it can only make the developing countries weaker in their dealings with large transnational enterprises." The development of the integration process can be secured, he stressed, by "a united front against foreign investors."<sup>15</sup>

The process of integration in the region is the object of fierce confrontation between forces fighting for independent economic development and forces wanting to subordinate this development to TNC interests. Although the unifying processes are on a qualitatively higher level than they were in the early 1960's, an analysis of the situation indicates that integration in its present forms allows TNC's to establish broader control. Access to the regional market gives them a chance to augment production capacities, specialize production in their own interest and penetrate further into the economic structure of the Latin American countries.

Leading economists and politicians in the Latin American states are increasingly concerned about the issue of integration. This concern is not surprising: It is precisely integration that can unravel one of the main knots of

conflict between national and foreign capital, between the desire of the developing countries for economic independence and imperialism's attempts to keep them within its own orbit.

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8588

CSO: 1807/204

12 April 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## CUBAN AUTHOR CRITICIZES JAMAICA'S TURN TOWARD U.S.

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 77-86

[Article by Haroldo Dilla Alfonso (Cuba): "The Evolution of Jamaican Foreign Policy (1962-1983)"]

[Excerpts] One of the problems of considerable interest to researchers of Caribbean affairs is the problem of the international relations and foreign policy of the largest states of the subregion. Jamaica's efforts to take a leading place among the English-speaking countries of the basin and to play an active role on the international scene and, in particular, in regional affairs give it a special position among these countries.

The history of Jamaican foreign policy since 1962 (independence year) can be divided into three distinct periods: the first, from 1962 to 1972, when the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) was in power; the second, from 1972 to 1980, when the government was headed by the People's National Party (PNP); and the third, the period since 1980, when the JLP returned to power.

## Foreign Policy Under the Labor Administration

During the first 10 years of independent Jamaica's existence, its foreign policy concentrated on the encouragement of foreign investments and therefore agreed with the neocolonial line of imperialist countries, especially the United States.<sup>1</sup> L. Edmondson and P. Phillips note that it "took the form of requests for assistance from Great Britain, the United States, Canada and other Western states."<sup>2</sup>

The only positive aspect of this foreign policy was the support of the movement for decolonization and the condemnation of apartheid. This is completely understandable in view of the fact that Jamaica was itself a young independent state and, besides this, had strong cultural and historical ties to Africa. In 1965, however, Jamaica refused to condemn a purely colonialist action--the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

This foreign policy was based on the following considerations. First of all, the model of industrialization through import substitution (by means of large investments in mining and the tourist industry) acquired considerable influence



under the first Labor administration and created the hope of uninterrupted economic growth. It is not surprising that the country's leaders insisted that Jamaica should be regarded as a "middle-income" state, and therefore a state far removed from the problems of the developing world.

On the other hand, Jamaica's reactionary and pro-imperialist line stemmed from the class nature of the JLP, traditionally controlled by the grand bourgeoisie and the most conservative strata of Jamaican society.

As the mirage of economic prosperity began to disappear and the time for a "changing of the guard" at the helm of government drew near, however, conditions were established for changes in Jamaican foreign policy, and these changes took place during the 8 years when the country was governed by the PNP, headed by M. Manley.

#### From Pro-Western Isolationism to Heightened Activity in the "Third World" (1972-1980)

By the end of the 1960's the externally imposed model of economic development had demonstrated its inability to solve socioeconomic problems, especially the problems of poverty and unemployment. A popular protest movement grew stronger at that time, "shaking society and revealing the weakness and potential fragility concealed by the facade of the island's externally stable two-party system."<sup>3</sup>

On the international scene, the favorable economic conditions of the first postwar years began to deteriorate, particularly after 1975, when the world trade system was stricken by a crisis and the terms of foreign financing grew more rigid.

With a view to these circumstances, the Manley government planned a reformist strategy for emergence from the crisis. It was based on the Keynesian policy of stimulating demand in the domestic market and intensifying the import-substitution process. The government, which was assigned the central role in this policy, was supposed to accomplish the quantitative and qualitative augmentation of its intervention in economic affairs by financing the national private sector and participating more actively in the production system and the service sphere.

This plan, which coincided with the aims of the Socialist International, did not envisage the revolutionary transformation of Jamaican society. Nevertheless, it did bring about progressive changes in the course of national development, and this had a direct effect on the country's foreign policy. Jamaica began to take direct action in favor of the new international economic order and various types of economic cooperation by developing countries and cooperation with the socialist community. As a result, it took a progressive stand on several issues and moved from the pragmatic and phlegmatic policy of the Labor administration to vigorous action in the spirit of "tercermundism" with clearly defined anti-imperialist aims.

Back in 1970 the leader of the PNP, M. Manley, had pointedly criticized Jamaican foreign policy in an article with the significant title "Overcoming

Insularity in Jamaica."<sup>5</sup> In his opinion, Jamaican foreign policy under the Labor government proceeded from the "general assumption that the boundaries of the real world start in Miami, extend northward to Canada, make a vague turn at Newfoundland and then invariably and inevitably end somewhere between London and Edinburgh," displaying a false idea of Jamaica's place "in relation to world affairs in general." Manley suggested that this policy be replaced with a more active orientation toward the developing countries and, above all, the economic unity of the English-speaking Caribbean states and all countries bordering on the Caribbean. In general, Manley proposed a foreign policy line based on the idea of "economic regionalism in the Caribbean; a search for a common economic strategy for the 'Third World'; active participation in the United Nations; the invariable support of the right of small countries to self-determination; efforts to bring about the triumph of international ethics and legal standards; and the concept of 'openness,' in accordance with which Jamaica should maintain traditional bonds of friendship but also establish productive contacts to the maximum in the economic and cultural spheres."<sup>6</sup> This policy was designed to surmount the isolationist views of the previous government and institute a more "open" foreign policy, based on ideological and political pluralism. According to Foreign Minister P. Patterson, "national policy is based on the ideals of democratic socialism within the country and on the principles of nonalignment outside the country. One of the chief aims of this policy is the establishment and development of relations with all states, regardless of their socio-economic systems. We have the advantage of not being obligated to copy foreign ideological or political models."<sup>7</sup>

This foreign policy reversal gave the Caribbean island perceptible international prestige, and its position was widely supported by developing states. For a recently liberated country, this represented a genuine qualitative step toward its complete establishment as a sovereign state and its integration into the world community. One important change in Jamaican foreign policy was the emphasis on active participation in various international forums: the United Nations, the nonaligned movement, the International Bauxite Association (in which Jamaica plays the leading role), the Latin American Economic System (SELA) and others. Jamaica's behavior in these organizations has been distinguished by support for the new international economic order and for cooperation by developing countries within the confrontation between North and South.

The halfhearted anticolonial and antiracist rhetoric of the previous government was replaced by clear and militant solidarity with the anti-imperialist and national liberation movements. For example, Jamaica supports the independence of Puerto Rico (which is of strategic significance in U.S. geopolitical plans) and unhesitatingly supported Cuba when it decided to give the people of Angola internationalist assistance against the South African aggressors.

As a result, relations with the United States deteriorated perceptibly, despite Manley's efforts to keep them cordial. The first knot of conflicts arose in connection with the anti-imperialist and "tercermundist" announcements, which were followed by frequent political conflicts between the two countries in international forums due to the imperialist powers' inflexible

position on the economic demands of developing states. Besides this, close contacts with Cuba and other socialist countries irritated the traditional U.S. geopolitical "allergy" to any kind of "political heresy" in Washington's "mare nostrum." These conflicts grew more acute as the developed capitalist countries took a more egotistical stand and Jamaica made more insistent demands for a just world economic order.

#### Foreign Policy Issues in 1980 Campaign Debates

The PNP must be commended for conducting national political debates on problems in international relations, which were not at all a subject for public discussion in the years immediately following the declaration of independence. In 1976 this problem [conflicts with the IMF over the terms of foreign capital investment] had widespread repercussions, and the majority of voters supported the PNP because it rejected the IMF demands and campaigned under the slogan "We are not for sale!"

Nevertheless, by the time of the 1980 election the balance of power had changed in favor of the JLP. One of the significant causes was the declining prestige of the nationalist-reformist plan, especially after it had been undermined by the IMF demands and sabotaged by internal and external reaction. The support of Labor candidates by the majority of voters was less indicative of approval of the JLP pro-imperialist program than of a reaction to the failure of the Manley government's economic policy. Furthermore, as soon as the IMF emissaries arrived in Jamaica, the anti-imperialist and "tercermundist" thrust of PNP policy lost the organic connection with "domestic" problems that had distinguished it during the first years of the Manley administration. As a result, its anti-imperialist stand at international forums was confined to rhetoric, and this caused it to lose support within the country. Its criticism of imperialism was not understood by the insufficiently politicized mass voting public. The discrepancy between domestic and foreign policy caused people to lose faith in the government. Although the PNP tried in early 1980 to return to the tactics responsible for its success in 1976 after it had severed relations with the IMF and intensified its exposure of imperialism, it was already too late: The severe economic crisis in the country was nullifying the reforms instituted in the public interest. The rightwing forces united in the Labor Party, on the other hand, were able to propose an alternative plan, in which foreign policy was organically related to economic recovery within the framework of pro-imperialist strategy, to the interests of big local capital and transnational capital and to the official policy line of the Carter Administration.

After winning a dominant position in the Labor Party (as a result of the removal of the "old guard," headed by Shearer), E. Seaga and his group realized that a return to the foreign policy the JLP had pursued up to 1972 would be impossible. The new JLP government was faced by the need to take more vigorous foreign policy action. In close contact with the United States it assumed the role of the main regional coordinator in relations between Caribbean states--a coordinator acting in the interests of North American imperialism.

In a speech presented in the United States, where Seaga spent much of his time during the campaign, he said that the Cuban "intervention" in the



Caribbean, especially Jamaica, should be restrained by means of political action and, above all, with the aid of economic measures: preferential terms of trade, tax advantages and the stimulation of development with reliance on the private sector.<sup>11</sup> These ideas were concisely reflected in the JLP campaign platform, stipulating a foreign policy emphasizing the solicitation of economic assistance, the encouragement of investments by imperialist states and the severance of friendly ties with the socialist countries.<sup>12</sup> This was essentially something like a "mini-Marshall Plan" for the Caribbean, and it was heartily advocated by Seaga even before his election.

#### The Seaga Government's Pro-Imperialist Line

Seaga's first foreign policy act was the deportation of the Cuban ambassador. He was also the first head of government to be received by U.S. President-Elect Reagan. Both of these facts testified to Jamaica's new role on the international scene as an agent of North American imperialism.

During the next 4 years, Jamaica's close dependence on the United States and submission to it were essentially restored in exchange for economic and financial assistance, which the Labor government portrayed as a means of surmounting the severe economic crisis. To date, however, neither in bilateral trade nor in the broader context of the "Caribbean initiative" has Jamaica received sufficient financial support to accomplish even the kind of partial advances that would justify Seaga's predicted "change without chaos." In spite of the fact that the economy has essentially been managed by the IMF, with which the JLP government signed a new agreement on IMF terms, and in spite of the country's privileged position in programs of U.S. economic aid, none of this has been enough to satisfy the island's needs. The crisis is now much more severe than it was under the Manley government.

Some researchers have pointed out a definite "dichotomy" in Jamaican foreign policy: Whereas the Seaga government has adhered to the "tercermundist" position on the economic problems of developing countries and the crises in southern Africa and Central America, it has displayed complete submission to imperialist policy in its relations with the United States. In fact, this "dichotomy" is not a constant feature of Jamaican policy and is most likely the result of uncontrollable objective factors.

For example, Jamaica has had to advocate the improvement of world economic relations. The refusal to do so would injure its prestige and restrict its access to some international forums.

Furthermore, although the Seaga government has verbally seemed to take the same stand as the Manley government on these issues, this is purely a matter of rhetoric, and even this rhetoric has frequently been stopped in the fear that it might injure relations with Washington. For example, when Seaga went to Costa Rica he made some vague statements in support of the initiative of the "Contadora Group," but he also stressed that the latter should be guided by the criteria chosen by the "Kissinger Commission." Furthermore, Seaga made several accusations against the liberation movement in Central America and several statements in support of the Duarte regime in El Salvador.



Therefore, the JLP policy "signifies that the country's nonaligned position has been sacrificed on the altar of American capital."<sup>13</sup> By allowing itself to be turned into a "showcase" of the alleged advantages of economic ties with the United States, Jamaica has actually become an enthusiastic agent and promoter of Washington's geopolitical interests in the subregion. In spite of Seaga's announcement that "the Caribbean states need economic assistance, and not naval ship maneuvers,"<sup>14</sup> Jamaica has become involved in the U.S.-instigated arms race. In 1983 alone the country received 62 million dollars in military aid and is surpassed only by El Salvador in this respect on the continent. In terms of per capita military aid, Jamaica ranks fourth in the world, after El Salvador, Israel and Egypt.<sup>15</sup> In addition, agreements have been signed on military cooperation, combat maneuvers have been held, budget allocations for defense and security have been increased and new military bases are being built with the aid of U.S. advisers.<sup>16</sup>

Seaga's long-cherished plan to create a reactionary "entente" in the Caribbean has now been given strong momentum by Reagan's announced anti-communist "crusade." The Jamaican regime has become much more hostile toward popular, anti-imperialist governments, especially Cuba and, up to October 1983, revolutionary Grenada. Relations with Cuba were severed, and the pretext for this was the allegation, taken from a thoroughly false CIA report, that Cuba was exporting revolution. The majority of the Jamaican population was against this move.<sup>17</sup> As for Grenada, as soon as Seaga took office he made every effort to instigate a blockade of this country, repeatedly accusing the Bishop government of imaginary violations of human rights, of "undemocratic behavior" and of efforts to turn the island into a base for "Cuban-Soviet expansionism." Seaga tried to implement the idea of the blockade at CARICOM [Caribbean Common Market] conferences in 1982 and 1983. Nevertheless, Jamaica was alone in its support of this idea: Both forums advocated ideological pluralism, the right to self-determination, nonintervention in the internal affairs of states belonging to this community and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.<sup>18</sup> The government of Jamaica, however, did not cease its hostile actions against the Bishop government and it then gave the United States a chance to give the U.S. aggression against Grenada in October 1983 a "collective" appearance. This aggression was the result of the U.S.-approved hostile actions of Jamaica and other Caribbean states against the revolutionary process in the subregion.

Furthermore, Seaga's pro-imperialist Caribbean policy is directed not only against countries with revolutionary governments but also against those refusing to follow in the wake of U.S. policy. Jamaica has tried to exert some pressure on the Dominican Republic, the government of which has taken a progressive stand on some issues in international forums. The Seaga administration is hoping for the "creation of some kind of Dominican Republic-Jamaica axis to exercise leadership in the subregion and discredit socialist pro-Cuban successes," and "it is obvious that this idea is fully approved by the U.S. Government."<sup>19</sup>

As a result, JLP foreign policy has constantly put the country in a state of isolation. On the continental scale, Jamaica's behavior has aroused distrust, particularly in an atmosphere of heightened nationalist feelings in response to the growing economic aggression of U.S. imperialism and the U.S. reliance

on military force in the resolution of conflicts. Jamaica is also losing influence in the Caribbean zone. Seaga's efforts to become the leader among Reagan's "beneficiaries" and his tendency to take economic measures contrary to the interests of other CARICOM members are increasing tension in relations with his Caribbean partners, who regard Jamaica's interest in the North American market as a threat to Caribbean economic integration. Seaga's recent proposal (supported by some of his most reactionary Caribbean colleagues) on the creation of CARICOM-II, which is completely consistent with U.S. imperialist strategy and would exclude the countries of the subregion that oppose this strategy, indicates that the Jamaican prime minister is trying to undermine an organization formed to defend the legitimate interests of its members.<sup>20</sup>

This policy, despite some short-term effects and the purely nominal consolidation of Jamaican leadership among the most reactionary regimes in the Caribbean countries, will rebound against Jamaica by heightening its isolation in international affairs and will certainly not alleviate the country's severe domestic problems.

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8588

CSO: 1807/204

INTERNATIONAL

LATIN AMERICA INSTITUTE OFFICIALS AWARDED MEXICAN MEDALS

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
p 87

[Report on awards ceremony in Moscow on 18 September 1984: "Order of the Aztec Eagle Conferred upon Soviet Researchers of Latin American Affairs"]

[Text] At a ceremony in the Mexican embassy on 18 September 1984, Horacio Florez de la Pena, Mexico's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, awarded the Order of the Aztec Eagle to Professor V. V. Vol'skiy, doctor of economic sciences and director of the Latin America Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Professor A. F. Shul'govskiy, doctor of historical sciences and head of the Department of Ideological and Sociopolitical Affairs of the Latin America Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences; and Doctor of Historical Sciences M. S. Al'perovich, senior researcher at the World History Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

When he conferred the order, H. Florez de la Pena specifically said: "In this year marking the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations, my government wants to show its appreciation for the friendship of long standing which unites us by honoring these scientists and expressing the deepest gratitude to the Soviet people and government for the sympathy and friendship they have always given us." The ambassador spoke at length about the contribution the recipients of the award have made to the study of various aspects of Mexican history and current events.

In their acceptance speeches, V. V. Vol'skiy, A. F. Shul'govskiy and M. S. Al'perovich thanked the Mexican Government for this high evaluation of their work, stressing that they regard it as recognition of the services of all Soviet researchers of Latin American affairs. They stated their intention to continue striving to the utmost to strengthen the friendly relationship between the USSR and Mexico.

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8588

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12 April 1985

## INTERNATIONAL

## BOOK ON LATIN AMERICAN IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS, CHOICES REVIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 1, Jan 85 (signed to press 19 Dec 84)  
pp 141-143

[Review by A. A. Sokolov of book "Sovremennyye ideologicheskiye techeniya v Latinskoy Amerike" [Contemporary Ideological Currents in Latin America], Moscow, Nauka, 1983, 352 pages]

[Text] The world revolutionary process and the class and political struggle are now distinguished by the extreme exacerbation of clashes in the ideological sphere and severe conflicts between alternative theories and concepts of social development. These clashes are focusing more and more on the problem of choosing between capitalism and socialism, between various forms of capitalist modernization and a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution with socialist objectives. This applies to all ideological currents, including those aspiring to some kind of special status or national and regional exclusivity.

Only a comprehensive approach to the analysis of the ideological struggle and various ideological currents can result in the categorization of specific ideological theories and the disclosure of their class content. This kind of analysis can reveal the unity of the overall world revolutionary process and its manifestations on the regional or national levels.

For developing states the problem of choosing a pattern of social development and socioeconomic progress takes the form of a need to resolve the "dependence-independence" dilemma.

It is precisely in this connection that we would like to direct the attention of the reading public to the subject of this review--a study describing the main ideological currents on the continent, revealing their class content and evaluating their historical potential and prospects.

The book--and we are in full agreement with the authors here (p 4)--mainly supplements and amplifies other Soviet works dealing with this subject matter.<sup>1</sup> To a certain extent, it helps to correct the discrepancy between the number of Soviet works on ideological processes in Asia and Africa and the number on these processes in Latin America.

The authors are concerned primarily with the ideological aspects of the struggle between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary alternatives, the

clashes between various models--essentially borrowed from developed capitalist countries--of "neocapitalist" modernization and the variety of methods proposed to put an end to dependence on imperialist centers, and the conflicts between the concepts of renovated democracy, proposed by revolutionary forces, and the theories about "guarded" or "limited" democracy and even "neo-democracy," proposed by supporters of rightwing authoritarianism (pp 7, 35).

The authors have successfully attained the basic aims of their research. They reveal the complex connections between the social components of the revolutionary-liberation process and various ideological currents. The book contains a multileveled and dynamic description of the clash between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary alternatives (furthermore, both the main structural elements and the main national forms of the latter are described quite vividly).<sup>2</sup> The heightened effect of scientific socialism on the ideological theories of non-Marxist leftist forces, primarily in the definition of their social ideal, and of some revolutionary-democratic groups and organizations and on their assessment of the prospects and natural tendencies of the revolutionary movement is traced.

It is known that various forms and types of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology still have a significant effect on broad population strata belonging to different classes and social groups. As far as the "non-Marxist leftist currents" are concerned, the authors note that their petty bourgeois narrow-mindedness, dogmatism, hostility toward real socialism, anticommunist tendencies and prejudices often restrict their potential and inhibit their progression toward consistently revolutionary positions.

This generally interesting and profound study is not devoid of defects. Above all, a general work of this caliber obviously should include a section on Marxist ideology in Latin America. It is true that the authors mention this in their description of the democratic, revolutionary alternative proposed by communist parties, but the Marxist concept of contemporary Latin American society and the tendencies in its development is not revealed (although this is done in the case of other ideological currents). In this way, the authors miss an opportunity for the more thorough analysis of the specific signs of Marxism's influence in the development of the progressive and anti-imperialist alternative pattern of social development, which is, as the authors point out, advocated by various social forces (p 23).

In our opinion, the authors do not offer a complete description of bourgeois ideological currents. Theirs consists of concepts of rightwing authoritarianism (including the fascist variety) and modifications of the theory of "limited democracy" with elements of social maneuvering within the bounds of state-monopolist structures. Although bourgeois-liberal reformism has indisputably faded from sight, it is unlikely that it disappeared completely from the political and ideological arena in the late 1960's and that all reformist (according to the authors' terminology) parties evolved in one direction--toward the adoption of a social-democratic type of ideology. Can this be said about such parties as, for example, the Radical Civic Union in Argentina, the Institutional Revolutionary Party in Mexico, the Liberal Party in Colombia, Popular Action in Peru or the bourgeois parties in Uruguay? The thesis that

"social-democratic tendencies are making advances in the struggle against other (which?--A. S.) currents" in some of these parties (p 182) does not seem strong enough to categorize them as parties of the "social-democratic type." Unfortunately, the authors were unable to substantiate their statement about the organic unity of national-reformism and social-democracy.

We also wonder why there is no description of the rightist-centrist variety of Christian-democratic ideology. If it is not an accurate reflection of the specific ideological currents of the contemporary Christian movement, it would be useful to reveal its class motives and its place and functions in the ideological struggle in the region.

The categorization of some parties which made their appearance in the 1970's and announced their adherence to the postulates of "democratic socialism" as social-democratic parties could also be disputed. Their ideological and political aims point up a stronger resemblance to revolutionary-democratic parties.

In general, however, this book deserves a high appraisal. It is distinguished by political acuteness and will be useful to all readers interested in this subject matter.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The following books are some examples: "Revolutsionnyye protsessy v Latinskoy Amerike" [Revolutionary Processes in Latin America], Moscow, 1974; "Natsionalizm v Latinskoy Amerike: politicheskiye i ideologicheskiye techeniya" [Nationalism in Latin America: Political and Ideological Currents], Moscow, 1976; "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: zakonomernosti, tendentsii, perspektivy" [Developing Countries: Natural Trends, Tendencies and Prospects], Moscow, 1974; "Gospodstvuyushchiye klassy Latinskoy Ameriki" [Latin American Ruling Classes], Moscow, 1978; "Politicheskaya sistema obshchestva v Latinskoy Amerike" [The Political System of Latin American Society], Moscow, 1982.
2. At the same time, we feel that the authors have "gone overboard" in exaggerating the specific national and historical features of different varieties of rightwing authoritarian ideology (see, for example, pp 69-70)--although these features certainly exist--whereas the specific facts cited in the book indicate primarily common trends and stages in the origins and development of the national varieties analyzed: Chilean, Argentine and Brazilian.

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8588

CSO: 1807/204

NATIONAL

OCCUPATION ORIENTATION TO KEEP YOUNG ON FARM

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 12 Jan 85 p 3

[Excerpts from article by T. Abakumovskaya, SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA correspondent:  
"And the Sons are Plowing the Fields"]

[Excerpts] In recent years, the population has not been declining, but rather is even increasing in Mstislavskiy rayon of Mogilev Oblast. The rayon party organization has developed a well-substantiated system for securing the work force. The pivotal point of this system is concern for the individual.

According to the evaluations of demographers, the effects of the war years are still being unfavorably reflected in the growth of the able-bodied population in the villages of Mogilev Oblast. The natural outflow of rural residents to the city is also continuing. The rapidly growing industrial enterprises of the oblast center--Mogilev--are constantly in need of new workers.

How are we to ensure the influx of young forces into agricultural production? How are we to keep the youth in their native villages and farms--the places where their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers worked before them?

A seminar held in the oblast performed a sociological study of the reasons for migration of rural residents. It is indicative that low wages were almost never cited in answer to the question of why the workers were not satisfied with work on the farm. A non-standardized work day, poor working conditions on the farms, the absence of domestic convenience, poor mechanization of labor processes--these are the factors which motivate people to leave the village.

The speech presented by Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee, comrade K. U. Chernenko at the All-Union Economic Conference on Problems of the Agro-Industrial Complex stressed that: "As we know, our party views work on the development of agriculture not only as an economic, but also as a socio-political task of primary importance." This conference set the goal not only of improving the organizational methods of management, but also of improving the level of economic thinking of our work force. Broad possibilities have now been opened up to the farm. The scope of construction of facilities of residential, cultural-domestic, public health and public education function has increased.



Chairman of the 60th Anniversary of the BSSR Kolkhoz L. P. Toptunov reported that the work day at a large mechanized hog-raising complex, for example, ends by 6:00 in the evening, just as it does at an industrial enterprise. At the well equipped Cattle Breeders' House, one may not only rest, but also visit the stomatological and procedural offices of the medical preventative clinic.

The mechanical shops which are being built at the kolkhoz will also be equipped with a full range of domestic services: rest rooms, shower facilities, a sauna and a dining room. All this yields hundred-fold returns. In the course of the five-year plan, around 200 young families have merged into the kolkhoz. The short-range plans for the kolkhoz include a new Palace of Culture, a museum in a restored building—an architectural monument, and a physical culture and health treatment complex.

Undoubtedly professional orientation also plays a significant role in bringing youth to the farm. It would seem that no one should have to be convinced of the necessity of this work nowadays. However, do those who are supposed to perform this work always fulfill it with full return and with an understanding of its crucial nature? In his conversation with the seminar participants, First Secretary of the Mogilev Party Obkom V. S. Leonov presented the following example. When farm managers came to the Komsomol meeting of the graduating class of the Zhelezinskiy Sovkhoz in Slavgorodskiy rayon to recruit young people for work on the farm, everyone spoke out "in favor." However, after the class dance most of the graduates went off their own separate ways.

No, this problem cannot be solved by episodic meetings. In Mstislavskiy rayon the school children are engaged even in the younger grades in mandatory socially beneficial labor at sectors near the school. In the older grades they work in the kolkhoz fields and farms and study at the educational-production combine. Around half of the graduates who have attained the specialty of driver-auto mechanic, milking machine operator or tractor operator work on the farms in their selected specialty. Many continue their studies at secondary special and higher educational institutions. The rayon commission on professional orientation coordinates this work, and is headed by First Secretary of the Mstislavskiy Rayon Party Committee P. M. Katushkin. The commission's recommendations on the training of young people for work in agricultural production and on securing the work force on the farm represent a basic and action-oriented document.

Everyone to whom it is addressed knows what exactly he must do and within what time. There is a card file in the rayon on all school students, starting with the eighth graders. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes perform professional orientation work with every school student based on the needs of the farms. The figures testify to the effectiveness of such an approach to the matter. In 1983, out of 320 graduates in the rayon, 120 became students at VUZes and technical schools, primarily agricultural; 70 were enrolled in vocational-technical schools, and 68 remained to work in their own villages. 125 of the young people entering educational institutions received kolkhoz stipends. Every farm in the rayon has developed a long-range plan for preparation of specialists of various profile through the year 1990.

Before only one-third of the Soviet Army conscripts returned to their native villages. They were given festive send-offs to the army with solemn parting speeches. But in most cases this was the end of the matter. Today the party and Komsomol committees and the kolkhoz administrations maintain constant communications with their fellow villagers who have gone off to the ranks of the Soviet Army. They write them about kolkhoz news, tell the soldier who has replaced him on his tractor and how that person is taking care of the machine. The young soldier knows that when he returns he will receive not only the tractor which was temporarily entrusted into another's care, an automobile and work that suits him, but also a one-time stipend for settling down and the prospect of receiving improved housing if he decides to marry. Now significantly more demobilized soldiers are staying in their native villages.

Unfortunately, in the long-range plan for preparation of specialists for the farm, cultural workers are listed as "other". They should be given their own classification. After all, both the turnover and the need for such trained specialists are rather great.

The hard line of the Mstislavskiy Rayon Party Committee for improving work with the youth is being brought to life strictly, energetically, and with creative thought. Such experience deserves the widest possible promulgation.

12322

CSO: 1830/302

NATIONAL

SOVIET ENGINEERS HELD IN LOW ESTEEM

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian on 28 February 1985 carries on page 6 two 800-word related article by V. Skrybinskiy, engineer, and M. Boguslavskiy, chief specialist of the Lenproect Institute, respectively, under the general title "I Am an Engineer." Both articles address the loss of prestige in the field of engineering and the profession as a whole. Skryabinskiy points out that although large-scale experimental measures have been undertaken to improve the organization of engineering labor and increase wages, their prestige remains low. He reluctantly suggests that the problem may lie with the profession itself: "perhaps the reason lies in the lack of a serious moral-psychological stimuli."

Boguslavskiy continues the discussion by stating that the prestige of engineering labor will be raised not by increasing salaries but by raising the very name of engineer, "so that it is not the last among other professions." Why are there fewer students entering technological fields, he asks. Is it because they are discouraged by the prospects for the future? Frequently the young engineer is not given the opportunity to practice his specialty immediately, he writes. However, "there a whole series of closely related areas where he can apply his energies: the kolkhoz, the vegetable center, areas to be cleaned, the carrying of cargo, etc....We have too many engineers and too few technicians!" asserts Boguslavskiy. "Technicians who are capable of construction work, of drafting blueprints, and detail." Indifference to work is the biggest problem, he continues, particularly if the individual does not like the specialty, or studied at the institute by force or because it was easier to get into. As an example he relates his work experience with "practical workers," individuals who did not have engineering degrees. "One such practical worker was able to supply the entire group of planners with blueprints," he writes. Today they are working, but not as engineers since they lack a degree, and they are hired reluctantly. This is unfortunate, continues Boguslavskiy, for a practical worker can "give 100 pointers" to a qualified specialist. "If I had it may way, I would hire practical workers and pay them according to the task they perform, and not [by giving them] a diploma," he concludes.

CSO: 1830/430

NATIONAL

DEATH SENTENCE GIVEN FOR PAST CRIMES, MURDER

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jan 85 p 4

[Article by V. Ogurtsov, Perm Oblast: "No Matter How You Hide Your Tracks..."]

[Text] The legal proceeding in Perm lasted six months. Then finally the sentence was announced, and greeted with enthusiastic approval by those present.

But what had happened several years earlier, when a series of crimes alarmed almost the entire oblast?

Late at night in the GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] checkpoint near the town of Lobanovo a militia sergeant who threw open the door of the duty shack to some people asking for help was murdered. The criminals took his pistol, two clips of bullets, and his baton. That same night, not far from the checkpoint, they killed a man who had agreed to drive them to Lobanovo and back.

Two months passed. Then a senior teller at a savings bank, who managed to sound the alarm, was killed and a cashier was seriously wounded right in the middle of Perm, in the immediate vicinity of the oblast administration of internal affairs and the rayon militia department. Shortly after this another crime occurred. A driver on the Kungurskoye Highway, obeying the baton of a "militia associate," stopped his vehicle. The last thing he saw was the dark eye of the pistol. The killers took the vehicle and disappeared. The next day a watchman was attacked. They tried to take his automatic weapon, but failed. The wounded watchman was able to sound the alarm...

Although the crimes were somewhat separated in time, their similarities were beyond question.

The authorities worked on one theory after another. The situation was extremely tense. Everyone was talking about it and rumors spread, giving rise to fantastic and unbelievable stories. The militia was working, as they say, at the breaking point. But the months passed, and the only result was more and more theories tested.

Not until two years later was there a spark of hope. A certain I. Shirinkin, being held in jail, made a statement which, it seemed, might help out the stalled investigation. Shirinkin indicated four people who supposedly took part in committing the crimes. But when the question of extending the



investigation was posed one more time, the USSR and RSFSR Procurators called attention to the too-opportune appearance of the "main witness" and the too-obvious generality of his testimony.

First of all they noted that while the four people named by Shirinkin were certainly not models of morality, still they were probably not so degraded as to commit such vicious crimes. They also pointed out that Shirinkin's testimony rather often contradicted the objective findings from examinations of the scenes of the crimes, the testimony of witnesses, and fingerprinting and handwriting analysis. Shirinkin was essentially adapting openly to the investigation questions each time, and actually getting most of his information from the interrogators, after which he would alter his testimony, making it more plausible and at the same time confusing the overall picture.

In short, there were sufficient grounds to doubt the testimony of the "witness." The result was that the USSR and Russian Procurators firmly resolved to take a more sober attitude toward Shirinkin's testimony and to check everything over again.

When this difficult review was completed (it was difficult mainly in a psychological sense, because there is nothing more thankless and unpleasant than to hunt for your own mistakes and actually find them, cursing yourself because you believed what you wanted, not what actually was), representatives of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR and republic Procurators who had studied all the testimony reached a final conclusion: the four had been falsely accused.

The first thing that became clear was Shirinkin himself. He had nothing to do with the gang; he had been convicted of larceny. But soon he realized that work at the logging site was much tougher than patient and cautious conversations with the investigator...

Now the RSFSR Procurator's Office took over the file. The years that had passed complicated the work of senior advisor of justice Vladimir Ivanovich Oleynik, senior investigator for especially important cases of the RSFSR Procurator's Office, and his group. The brigade inherited 280 volumes of material. What could be taken as reliably proven fact out of all this? What could they decisively and with solid reasons reject immediately?

The investigators questioned an enormous number of people whose paths had deliberately or by chance crossed the Kungurskoye Highway or the central street of Perm in those distant, tragic days. Hundreds of files that had been closed and were gathering dust in the archives had to be brought out and re-interpreted. And in every aspect this was work at such a professional level that there could not be the slightest doubt remaining about anything.

Before the attack on the savings bank one of the criminals was stopped in his actions when a woman unexpectedly entered. He was forced to take a seat and, for appearances, write something on a blank credit slip. Of course, it would be naive to think that he wrote his own name, but the few words were a handwriting sample with all the characteristics of the criminal's handwriting,

against which thousands of other handwriting examples would be checked. And so a check was begun to see whether someone with the name the criminal signed had been in Perm in 1974-1975.

At the same time it remained realistic to assume that the crooks were familiar with militia work. And what did it mean that after the incidents in Perm, no other such daring crimes occurred anywhere in the whole country? Maybe they had decided to spend the danger period behind bars, getting themselves "set up" for some minor crime?

"So we began looking at people who were in or close to that category of persons," Oleynik explained. "Igor' Vedernikov at first was just one out of many. A former non-departmental guard for one of the rayon departments in Perm. He was convicted of stealing from the facility he was guarding, but had served his time and then disappeared. But the more carefully we recreated the details of his biography, his circle of relatives, friends, and connections, his everyday habits, moral principles, and psychological traits, the more he seemed to fit the events in Perm. From him the thread led to his brother Oleg, who was convicted of theft in Lvov. Soon the expert examination gave its firm and final conclusion: the handwriting sample left at the savings bank where, a few minutes later the teller was killed and the cashier wounded, belonged to the hand of Oleg Vedernikov..."

It was not easy later either -- not before the Vedernikovs' confession, and not after when they several times took back their revelations and tried to shame the investigators with statements about the statute of limitations, then again confessing and adding to their earlier testimony. They had a hard time confessing, because the whole truth was so hard.

Where did they come from, these degenerates? Where was that crossroads at which the brothers chose the path of crime?

... They were raised in a family where all idea of values in life was limited to material security and official position. Their mother was a strong-willed, authoritative woman who in front of her sons would often recall, with unconcealed envy, her father, who had once had a "business" and was able to develop himself, not stopping at anything. Many times she spoke with malice and irritation of her longing for those older days. Relations in the family were built on extreme individualism and insincerity, cold severity toward one another, complete narrow-minded practicality in their actions, and unconcealed selfishness. For many years the brothers' father was an equally eloquent example; as the prosecutor correctly stated in court, he "spent most of his life hypocritically trying to reconcile his dirty dealings with the party card in his pocket."

That is how these boys grew up! One of them was outstanding at giving people the impression that he was a straightforward young man; he learned to use this to win their trust in order to use them later for his base motives. The other was an ordinary student and did volunteer public work while at an agricultural institute; but already then he was offensively arrogant. "I didn't go to school to dig in the ground; I went to be able to talk on the proper level," he would later explain to an investigator.

The aggressive bitterness of the one and the treacherous calculation of the other became the foundation of the alliance between these two hardened Philistines who were enraged at the discrepancy between their exaggerated personal ambitions and the possibility of satisfying them.

One can only be amazed at the cold-blooded way they gave their testimony. As if attaining these goals did not presuppose violence and blood-letting.

"The court became convinced that after the murders the Vedernikov brothers, whose names have now been connected to many cases of larceny, only went into stealing temporarily," said Vasilii Yakovlevich Sadovenko, member of the collegium of the Perm Oblast Court, who conducted the proceeding. "And their social danger lay in the fact that wherever they appeared, they were soon surrounded by a group of people predisposed to crime. That is why the Vedernikovs were joined on the defendants' bench by V. Bushtruk, A. Maksimov, A. Kleymenov, and N. Sorokina, who began with speculation and vagrancy."

The courtroom listened to the sentence:

"In view of the gravity of the crimes committed and the consequences of them in addition to the exceptional danger that the Vedernikov brothers present to society, the court considers it necessary to sentence both defendants to the exceptional penalty [death]."

A few days ago the RSFSR Supreme Court affirmed the sentence.

The other participants in the criminal gang were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment for numerous instances of theft and larceny.

11,176

CSO: 1830/340

NATIONAL

BRIEFS

DEATH OF RETIRED KGB GENERAL--The Committee for State Security of the USSR, comrades-in-arms and friends note with deep regret the death of retired lieutenant-general Yakov Afanas'evich Yedunov, participant in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, member of the CPSU since 1922, and honorary member of the KGB, and express their most sincere condolences to the relatives and close friends of the deceased. [Text] [Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Mar 85 p 4]

CSO: 1830/424



REGIONAL

TENTH SESSION OF ESTONIAN SUPREME SOVIET HELD

Information Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Dec 84 p 1

[Text] The 10th Session (10th Convocation) of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet was held on 7 December in Tallinn.

Ten o'clock. Comrades K. Vayno, N. Ganyushov, V. Kyao, L. Lentsman, O. Merimaa, R. Ristlaan, A. Ryutel', B. Saul, A.-B. Upsi, N. Yuganson, I. Toome, L. Shishov; Deputy Chairmen, Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet: M. Vannas and A. Taal'; Kh. Vel'di, first deputy chairman, ESSR Council of Ministers; chairman, ESSR Agroprom; Deputy Chairmen, ESSR Council of Ministers: P. Palu, A. Tregubov, and G. Tynspoyeg; V. Vakht, secretary, Presidium, ESSR Supreme Soviet; and members of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and the ESSR Council of Ministers took their place in the loges.

The session was opened by Deputy M. Pedak, chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

Based on the report by Deputy A. Meri, chairman, Credentials Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the session approved the credentials of M. Agur, a newly elected deputy (Kokhtla-Yarevskiy Southern Electoral District No 93).

The session examined the following questions.

1. The State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Estonian SSR in 1985 and the Course of Fulfillment of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the ESSR in 1984.
2. The State Budget of the ESSR in 1985 and the Fulfillment of the State Budget of the Estonian SSR for 1983.
3. The Report on the Activity of the ESSR Supreme Court.

4. The Ratification of Ukases of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

5. Deputies' Inquiry.

The report on the first question was delivered by Deputy G. Tynspoyeg, deputy chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers; chairman of ESSR Gosplan.

The report on the second question was presented by Deputy E. Myandmaa, ESSR finance minister.

A co-report on these questions was delivered by Deputy A. Keyerna, chairman, Budget and Planning and Commission, ESSR Supreme Soviet.

The following deputies participated in the discussions: Kh. Lubi (Vilyandiskiy-Kelerskiy Electoral District No 268); E. Ekhala (Tallinskiy-Kharkuskiy Electoral District No 43); V. Lilleberg (Vyayke-Maar'yaskiy Elector District No. 231); T. Kyand (Yyelyakhtmeskiy Electoral District No 162); Yu. Khaviko (Yarva-Yaaniskiy Electoral District No 206); A. Zamakhin (Narvskiy-Paemurrskiy Electoral District No 108); E. Laaniste (Pyarnuskiy-Zarechnyy Electoral District No 121); Yu. Ryaym (Orissaarevskiy Electoral District No 187); M. Rannu (Khelmeskiy Electoral District No 255); A. Moskovtsev (Kokhtla-Yarevskiy-Novostroyevskiy Electoral District No 87); L. Sepp (Tartuskiy Rural Electoral District No 247); Z. Alekhina (Tallinskiy-Endlaskiy Electoral District No. 65); and M. Ruusjaar, chairman, ispolkom of the Yygevaskiy Raysovet.

Concluding addresses were delivered by deputies G. Tyngspoyeg and E. Myandmaa.

Estonian SSR laws ("On the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Estonian SSR" and "On the State Budget of the Estonian SSR for 1985" and decrees of the ESSR Supreme Soviet ("On the Course of Fulfillment of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Estonian SSR in 1984" and "On the Ratification of the Report on the Fulfillment of the Estonian SSR Budget for 1963" were adopted.

Deputy R. Simson, chairman of the ESSR Supreme Court, delivered a report on the activity of the ESSR Supreme Court.

The following deputies participated in the discussion of the report: Kh. Eller (Kyardlaskiy Electoral District No 177); Kh. Il'ves (Pyltsamaaskiy City Electoral District No 181); and K. Kimmel' (Raplaskiy Electoral District No 239).

The decree "On the Activity of the ESSR Supreme Court" was adopted.

Based on the report by Deputy V. Vakht, secretary of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, the session ratified between-session ukases of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

A group of deputies of the ESSR Supreme Soviet filed an inquiry with the ESSR Council of Ministers and in the course of the session, Ye. Nikolayev, a deputy

12 April 1985

of the ESSR Supreme Soviet (Tallinskiy-Maarduskiy Electoral District No 60), filed an inquiry with the ESSR State Committee for Construction Affairs.

Appropriate decrees of the ESSR Supreme Soviet were adopted on the basis of reports by I. Toome, deputy chairman, ESSR Council of Ministers, and P. Palu, deputy chairman, ESSR Council of Ministers.

Therewith the session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet concluded its work.

#### Gosplan Chairman Speech

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 Dec 84 pp 1-3

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! Of late, attention has been focused on the plan for economic and social development and the Soviet Union's budget for the concluding year of the 11th Five-Year Plan. At a November sitting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; chairman, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, thoroughly analyzed the state of the Soviet economy and identified urgent tasks of economic policy associated with the intensification of social production and the successful conclusion of the five-year plan. These points and principles were taken into account in the ratification of the State Plan for 1985 and at the recently concluded session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The State Plan for 1985 submitted by the republic government to the scrutiny of the present session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet is directed toward the implementation of the party's economic strategy. Its targets are based on the five-year plan and take into account the results of work for 4 years as well as proposals of ESSR Agroprom, ministries, departments, gorispolkoms, rayispolkoms, and work collectives actively participating in drafting the plan. The proposals of party and trade union organizations and voters' mandates to the deputies were taken into account in the process of its compilation.

Before the State Plan for 1985 was submitted to today's session of the Supreme Soviet, it had been examined and for the most part approved by a sitting of the Buro of the Estonian CP Central Committee. Attention was focused on the decisive sectors of the national economy. The decision adopted by the Buro posed the tasks of unconditionally fulfilling and overfulfilling the five-year plan indicators for social production and for improving the well-being of the people. In the organization of the effort to realize this task, the Estonian CP Central Committee deems it essential to concentrate special attention on above-plan increases in labor productivity; on the economical use of supplies, raw materials, fuel, and energy; on lowering production costs; on the more complete utilization of production capacities; on improving product quality; and on the broad introduction of scientific and technical advances into production. These directions of the work must form the basis of the activity of all party, Soviet and economy organs, social organizations and labor collectives.

## Expected Results of Fulfillment of the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Estonian SSR in 1984

As shown by the results of the work performed during the period covered by the report, the principal branches of the national economy and industry develop in accordance with the targets of the state plan. The growth rates of many economic indicators exceed both the planned and actual indicators attained in the first years of the five-year plan.

A decisive influence on the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan has been exerted by measures to strengthen state planning discipline and to improve the organization of labor and production, by the broader dissemination of progressive knowhow, and by the development of socialist competition. This year the growth of social production is faster, the development of the social infrastructure is greater, and the material and cultural needs of the population are better supplied than during the first years of the five-year plan. As a result of the more rational use of material, labor and financial resources, targets for increasing the effectiveness of social production are being met. As a result of the more rational use of material, labor and financial resources, the target of making social production more effective is being met. Thus, labor productivity in industry will increase by 3.2 percent; in construction--by 3.2 percent; and in the social sector of agriculture--by 3.8 percent. Material expenditures and production costs will be reduced while the profits plan will be surpassed. Most of the republic's labor collectives will fulfill socialist pledges to increase labor productivity in excess of the plan and to reduce production costs in accordance with the decisions of the December (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The results of economic development in the present year reflects in general form the growth of national income which according to preliminary assessments will increase by 3.1 percent. In industry, the leading branch of the national economy, production will increase by 2.8 percent. The plan for consumer goods production will be substantially surpassed. It is a positive fact that the entire increase in industrial output will be due to higher labor productivity. What is more, the increase in the size of the work force in basic industry will be less than envisaged in the plan and lower than the actual size of the work force last year.

Agricultural workers produced a good grain and potato harvest and fulfilled the fodder procurement plan. There was an increase in livestock productivity and livestock products. State targets for purchasing agricultural staples will be surpassed. Purchases of livestock and poultry will increase by approximately eight percent; milk--by more than five percent. This has had [sic] a favorable impact on the work of the processing branches of industry and has made it possible to improve their supply to the population. Thus 7.5 and 6.2 percent more meat and dairy products will be sold to the population than last year.

Builders coped with a considerable volume of work. Fixed capital valued at 820 million rubles will be put into operation in the national economy. This will significantly increase the existing production potential and will make it possible to strengthen the material base of culture, education, health, and



other branches that serve the population. Seven hundred thirty thousand square meters will be put into operation during the year. Pupils have begun classes in five new general education school buildings and one secondary vocational-technical training school. Accommodations for an additional 3500 children are now available in the network of children's institutions.

The fulfillment of plans in trade and in consumer services is better than last year. According to preliminary estimates, trade turnover will increase 2.3 percent while the volume of consumer services will increase 5.9 percent. Real per capital income will grow 3.5 percent.

Based on the projected results for the current year and the totals for four years, five-year plan growth targets will be fulfilled and overfulfilled for national income, industrial output, consumer goods production, the activation of housing, the volume of consumer services, the growth of the population's money incomes, indicators of effectiveness of social production, and many others.

At the same time, shortcomings have not been overcome in the work of many links of the national economy and the end results of social production are accordingly adversely affected. The year plan of a number of industrial enterprises has not been fulfilled due to the unsatisfactory organization of production and other factors. Progress in the elimination of bottlenecks in the work of allied branches is slow. Notwithstanding the large volume of the work that has been formed, construction is lagging in the utilization of capital investments allocated for the development of municipal services and for the construction of cultural and trade facilities, children's institutions and hospitals. This impeded the integrated socioeconomic development of a number of cities and rayons. Some departments lack the initiative and activism required for the speedier satisfaction of the changing requirements of the national economy and the population. Ispolkoms of local Soviets frequently do not devote sufficient attention to finding effective solutions to problems relating to the well-being of the people.

The republic government has repeatedly discussed these questions and has reached appropriate decisions that the ESSR Agroindustrial Association, ministries, departments, and ispolkoms of local Soviets should execute more consistently.

#### Basic Targets of the State Plan for 1985 and Economic Growth Rates

The plan for 1985 is an important link in the implementation of the economic and social development program articulated by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 18th Estonian CP Congress. The measures, growth rates and proportions specified in the plan correspond to the economic development tasks set by the party and are to a greater degree than in the past oriented toward raising the effectiveness of production and toward securing the further improvement of the people's well-being.

The plan calls for increased output in all branches of material production--industry, agriculture, transport, construction, and others. The indicated tasks are associated with the demand for the optimal use of the existing

technical production potential and the target of higher production effectiveness and above all, the target of higher labor productivity. This direction can be called one of the distinguishing features of the plan. The plan outlines measures for intensifying and increasing the effectiveness of production primarily through the broader introduction of the accomplishments of scientific and technical progress. Substantially more attention is devoted to the conservation of raw materials, fuel, energy, and supplies as a most important condition to balancing the needs of the national economy and to increasing the effectiveness of production. Norms governing the expenditure of material and technical resources have been stiffened accordingly.

The most important measures for improving the well-being of the population include: the implementation of the Food Program; the increased production of consumer goods and the corresponding renovation of the consumer goods mix; the development of housing construction and other branches of the social infrastructure. The improvement of planning and the economic mechanism, including economic experimentation in a number of branches of industry and consumer services, will to a considerable degree promote the fulfillment of the various plan targets.

The basic directions of the republic's economic and social development in the coming year are coordinated with the targets of the state plan for the development of our country's unified national economic complex and are a component part of it.

The indicated development of branches of material production and the heightened effectiveness of production must increase national income by 2.9 percent. At least 96 percent of the indicated increase in national income will be due to the increased productivity of social labor. Material inputs per ruble of social product are to be reduced by 0.3 percent compared with the current year. Previously adopted measures have made it possible to realize a higher output-capital ratio compared with targets set for the year 1985 in the five-year plan.

Since most of the increase in the work force will be in the nonproductive sphere and considering the activation of new facilities and the expansion of the network of institutions serving the population, social labor productivity in branches of material production will have to increase by 2.8 percent. Labor productivity in industry and construction is slated to grow by 2.7 and 3 percent, respectively.

The plan for the most part corresponds to the targets established for the majority of indicators of social production and its heightened effectiveness in the last year of the five-year plan.

The targets of the 1985 plan for the various branches of the national economy are as follows.

## Industry

Tasks stemming from the all-union division of labor and the demand for the more complete satisfaction of local needs were taken into account in the process of determining industry's production program and its structure. In keeping with the indicated targets, the increase in the current year's industrial output will be two percent; its overall volume will reach almost six billion rubles. In order to increase stocks of consumer goods, it is planned to increase the output volume of Group B branches by 2.5 percent--this is more than the industrywide increase. The machine building, instrument making, light, local, timber and wood processing, meat and dairy industries will develop at a relatively more rapid rate. Taking the demand for the further intensification of production into account, 70 percent of the increase in industrial output is to be the result of the improved use of the existing production potential.

Two hundred sixty-eight million rubles in capital investments have been allocated for the further development of industry. Fifty-six percent of this sum will be used for the technical retooling and reconstruction of enterprises.

The following targets have been established in the plan for the development of the basic branches of production.

In the fuel and energy branch, the nighttime utilization of the republic's electric power stations is lowered in connection with the rising role of shale-fired electric power stations in the regulation of the load of the energy system in the northwestern part of our country. Accordingly, next year's plan calls for the production of 18.17 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power. Electric power consumption in the republic's economy will increase by 4.6 percent, including a more than 5 percent increase in agriculture and municipal and consumer services. A number of measures are planned to increase the nighttime use of energy. The first quite powerful high-voltage boiler facilities will be built and preparations for producing heat accumulators will be made.

In accordance with the needs of electric power stations and the processing industry, the production of 26.4 million tons of shale is planned. Next year the Estoniya Mine will experiment with machines that cut the entire shale seam in order to minimize losses in the shale extraction process.

The chemical and shale processing industry will increase the production of ammonia, formalin and detergents. Nitrogen fertilizers and superphosphate will be produced in quantities exceeding five-year plan targets. A shop for the production of benzoic acid will be put into operation in the Slantsekhim Production Association.

Machine building and instrument making output will be increased by almost five percent. The production of a number of new types of measurement instruments, apparatus, burners, and excavators is planned. The production of semiconductor rectifiers, power transformers and hearing devices will be

increased to a considerable degree. In the interest of securing the development of branch enterprises and of increasing their output, the capacities of many plants will be increased and many new production buildings will be built.

In the timber and wood processing and in the pulp and paper industry, the volume of output will increase by 2.4 percent. The increase will for the most part be in the form of growth in the production of furniture, wood-fiber blocks and paper. The production capacities of the Pyussikskiy Combine will be expanded through technical retooling in order to ensure the more complete utilization of wood scrap and small trees. The construction of a kitchen furniture shop at the Kokhtla-Yarevskaya Furniture Factory will be continued.

In the construction materials industry, the production of wall and roof materials, ceramic floor tiles, reinforced concrete components, and gravel will be increased. A large-scale effort will be launched to replace obsolete fixed capital at existing enterprises with new capital. Technical retooling of the Punane Kunda Plant and the reconstruction of the Rakkeskiy Lime Plant will continue. Reconstruction of a nonmetalliferous materials plant and the Narvskiy Construction Materials Combine will commence. Additional capacities for the production of very popular small blocks will be put into operation at the Akhtmeskiy Construction Materials Combine.

The production of consumer goods in retail prices will reach 3.8 billion rubles next year; consumer durables will increase by 3.8 percent.

Light industry plays an important part in satisfying the population's needs for consumer goods. An economic experiment conducted by the ESSR Ministry of Light Industry is designed to solve this problem. The plan calls for a 2.5 increase in the ministry's output, for a broader mix, for product renovation and better quality. There will be an increase in the production of highly popular cotton fabrics, sewn and knitted goods as well as linen prints. In connection with the activation of new capacities, there will be a significant increase in the production of chrome leathers, model footwear and furniture fabrics. The reconstruction, modernization and expansion of light industry enterprises will be continued. Next year, reconstruction of the Georgiyevskaya Weaving Mill in the Krengolmskaya manufaktura Combine and the construction of a new footwear factory in the Kommunar Association.

In industry of republic subordination, output is slated to increase by 4.3 percent, including a 5.9 percent increase throughout the ESSR Ministry of Local Industry. Most of the rise will be due to the increased production of consumer durables and to the development of capacities put into operation in the current year. There will be an increase in the volume of work at truck and tractor repair enterprises. Industry in the consumer cooperative system will develop. The material base of the printing industry will be strengthened.

#### The Agroindustrial Complex

The further development of agricultural production and the more effective performance of the entire agroindustrial complex continue to be a key



condition to the implementation of the republic Food Program. The plan devotes much attention to the intensification of animal husbandry, to increasing grain and fodder production as the necessary base for the development of animal husbandry. Measures are planned for the further strengthening of the material and technical base of the agroindustrial complex and its most important link--agriculture, and for improving the rural population's social and living conditions.

The growth of agricultural output was determined on the basis of the following targets pertaining to the sale of basic types of products to the state: grain--170,000 tons; potatoes--275,000 tons; vegetables--66,000 tons; livestock and poultry (live weight), including the sale of pedigreed livestock--282,000 tons; milk--1.2 million tons; eggs--370 million units; and fruit and berries--21,000 tons. Considering the level of production attained in the current year and the quantity of fodder procured, these targets are within our grasp and essentially correspond to the targets for the year 1985 in the five-year plan. The volume of purchase of livestock and poultry is slightly lower compared with the level specified in the five-year plan.

In the process of compiling production plans for the coming year, kolkhozes and sovkhoses must contemplate measures ensuring the fulfillment of the targets established for the sale of products to the state taking into account the experience of the best farms and agricultural production leaders in increasing the productivity of livestock and in strengthening the fodder base.

In addition to the development of agricultural production on kolkhozes and sovkhoses, it is also planned to increase production on subsidiary farms of enterprises and on the personal household plots of the population.

It will be necessary to produce 3.9 million tons of feed units in order to produce sufficient livestock products to meet state purchase plan targets. Since 860,000 tons of mixed feed will be supplied from state reserves, 75 percent of the feed requirements of social livestock will have to be satisfied by feed produced on the farms. In order to increase the fertility of the fields, 7.3 percent more mineral fertilizer will be allocated compared with the present year and the production of peat for use in fertilizer will be increased by 10.3 percent.

In the coming year, 334 million rubles in capital investments are slated for the development of the agricultural complex. This figure includes 145 million rubles from kolkhoz funds. This is more than envisaged in the five-year plan. Kolkhozes have been assigned a 71 million ruble ceiling on construction and installation work in the coming year, which is 9 million rubles more than indicated for 1985 in the five-year plan.

The erection of storehouses, granaries and processing shops, the expansion of livestock farms, and land reclamation work continue to be the principal direction in production-related construction. Particular attention is focused on the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities. State capital investments and kolkhoz funding have financed the construction of 226,000 square meters of housing, kindergartens with 1800 places, clubs with 800 places, etc., that will be put into operation. The volume of individual

housing construction by contract and by the direct labor method will be increased to 7.2 million rubles; a total area of 20,000 square meters of housing are to be put into operation.

In the interest of further raising the level of mechanization of agricultural production, 2280 tractors, including 870 K-701 and MTZ tractors, were allocated to republic kolkhozes and sovkhoses. They will also be supplied 1820 trucks, 45 percent of which will be dump trucks. Deliveries of dump carriers next year will increase by almost 29 percent. Grain harvesting combines, tractor trailers, KamAZ trucks, bulldozers, and other agricultural machinery have been allocated in accordance with orders of ESSR Agroprom.

The meat and dairy, food, mixed feed, and fish industries are called upon to play an important part in solving the problems confronting the republic's agroindustrial complex. Output at enterprises belonging to these branches is slated to grow in keeping with the volume of processing of plant and animal products, the production of mixed feeds, and the fish catch.

The improvement of the quality of foods is planned and more foods that are in high demand will be produced. The mix of dairy, confectionery, bakery, and fish products will be expanded.

Capital investments allocated to strengthen the material and technical base of branches of the food industry are for the most part being used for the technical retooling and reconstruction of existing enterprises. Construction of the Pyarnuskiy Dairy Products Combine and the Tartu Sausage Shop and the reconstruction of the Tallinn Refrigeration Plant are continuing. Construction of a sausage shop is scheduled to begin in Saaremaa. Construction of the Vilyandiskiy Mixed Feed Plant in the mixed feed branch will continue and the reconstruction of the Tartu Mill will be completed.

#### Transport and Communications

The republic transport and communications system will be developed on the basis of the needs of the economy and the population and the allocated resources.

The volume of freight shipping by all types of transport will increase by 2.1 percent, including a 1.7 increase for common carrier trucks and a 2.8 percent increase for farm trucks. In view of the strained motor fuel situation, the further rationalization of shipping and the reduction of the average distance of shipments are taken into account in the planning of shipping by common carrier trucks. At the same time, the plan calls for railroads to occupy a larger share in the structure of shipping. A larger volume of shipping by sea than specified in the five-year plan is planned.

The plan envisages the expansion of passenger transport by all types of transport and the improvement of transport services for the population in cities and rayons.

The volume of work on the reconstruction, repair and maintenance of roads will

increase by 4.6 percent. Thirty-two million rubles in capital investments are being allocated to replenish and renovate the vehicle fleet and strengthen the material base of motor pools belonging to the ESSR Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways. Construction of the Novotallinskiy Port will continue.

The plan calls for a 4.2 percent increase in communication services. The allocation for strengthening the branch's material base is 10.7 million rubles. New telephone exchanges with a capacity of 15,300 telephone numbers (including 11,200 urban numbers) will be put into operation. This will make it possible to increase the number of telephones in the possession of the population in large cities and population centers. The construction of a radio and television relay station in the settlement of Vyalyarva in the Pylvaskiy Rayon is beginning. It will improve reception in southern Estonia.

#### Capital Construction

The construction program in the last year of the five-year plan is extremely vast. Fixed capital valued at 942 million rubles will be put into operation in order to ensure the activation of capacities and facilities on schedule. Since the fulfillment of the plan for activating them depends to a considerable degree on the solution of problems confronting all branches of the economy not only in 1985, but in the first years of the 12th Five-Year Plan as well, it is essential that the discipline of performers be substantially improved. This requires not only that requesters fulfill their functions, but also that project-planning, supply and transport organizations take effective measures to improve preparations for construction and the organization of work at construction projects.

Capital investments throughout the republic economy from all sources of financing will total 1,63,000,000 rubles, including 514,000,000 rubles earmarked for construction and installation work. In the coming year, 779 million rubles will be allocated for the construction of production facilities; 283 million rubles will be allocated for the development of branches of the social infrastructure. The indicated volume will ensure the activation of planned production capacities, housing and socio-cultural facilities and the establishment of the necessary construction backlog. In comparison with the current year, there will be an increase in capital investments in the development of transport, agriculture, communications, municipal services, and education.

Almost 40 percent of the capital investments in the construction of production facilities will be used for technical retooling and reconstruction. In order to concentrate capital investments, the number of projects under construction at the same time has been reduced and the number of construction starts is restricted.

In the process of distributing the overall volume of construction and installation work among the various branches of the national economy and at the territorial level, the need to develop the production potential and the social infrastructure in towns and rayons was taken into account.

## Development of Science and Technology

The rate of the economy's development, that rate of increase in the effectiveness of social production, and the resolution of social problems depend to a considerable degree on the earlier introduction of advances in science and technology in the national economy. Plan targets for the development of science and technology are intended to reinforce intensive factors of economic growth. The targets take into account measures (articulated at a republic meeting of the party and economic activists held in June of this year) for accelerating scientific and technical progress in the national economy of the ESSR.

Scientific research and experimental work will be conducted under 60 all-union and 10 republic scientific and technical programs. They are intended to resolve questions relating to the development of technologies for obtaining effective, biologically harmless plant protection agents; for using combustible shale and phosphorites to the fullest; for solving economic, technical and organizational questions in the agroindustrial complex. Scientific research and experimental work will continue on the development and use of microprocessors in industry, agriculture and science. Financial resources are allocated for strengthening the experimental base of science and for expanding scientific research.

Based on the use of the advances of scientific and technical progress, it is planned to incorporate new products and materials in production and to raise the technical level and quality of products. The growth of the volume of products in the highest quality category will be 14 percent. What is more, the share of these products in the overall volume of products to be certified will rise to 50 percent.

The broad introduction of new equipment and progressive technology for the purpose of raising the technical level of production will continue. Planned measures pertaining to the use of progressive technologies, machines and mechanisms, standardized equipment modules, robotic complexes, and microprocessor systems will ensure the more economical use of raw materials, fuel, energy, and supplies and reduced environmental pollution. The indicated measures will make it possible to improve working conditions, to increase labor productivity, and to free almost 1700 workers from manual labor jobs merely by raising the technical level of production in industry.

## Social Development and the Betterment of the People's Well-Being

In the course of implementing the principal task posed by the party and the government -- the task of securing the continuous betterment of the well-being of the people, the social orientation of the plans grows. This is specifically expressed in higher incomes, in the population's higher consumption level, in better working and living conditions, and in the better satisfaction of spiritual needs.

The average monthly wage of blue collar workers, white collar workers and kolkhoz members will increase almost two percent. Per capita payments and



benefits from social consumption funds will grow by 3.5 percent and will amount to 687 rubles.

The projected growth of consumer goods production and the expansion of their mix will increase commodity resources and improve their structure which will ultimately make it possible to better satisfy the population's demand. Thus, market stocks of meat and dairy products will increase by approximately four percent compared with the current year. The demand for the basic groups of industrial commodities and construction materials will be more completely satisfied. Retail state and cooperative trade turnover must increase by 4.4 percent with regard to the additional target in the plan.

The volume of consumer services rendered will increase by 4.6 percent, including an almost 6 percent increase for the rural population. The volume of construction services and technical servicing of means of transport will grow significantly. The economic experiment in progress at the ESSR Ministry of Consumer Services should promote the expansion of types of services and the improvement of services to the population.

These and other measures will ensure the growth of real per capita income by 3.7 percent, which significantly exceeds the growth of real income in preceding years of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The plan calls for a considerable volume of housing construction and the further development of the material base of the sociocultural sphere. Almost 27 percent of the republic's total volume of capital investments are allocated for these needs.

Seven hundred forty thousand square meters of housing financed from all sources will be put into operation. This is 20,000 square meters more than specified in the five-year plan. The share of cooperative and individual housing construction in the activation plan will rise to 26 percent. Housing will be built in all cities and rayons, including 260,000 square meters in Tallinn, over 50,000 in Tartu, 50,000 in Kokhtla-Yarve, 30,000 in Narva, and 20,000 in Pyarnu. Approximately 59 million rubles are allocated for the development of municipal services in the republic.

School construction will be expanded in connection with the school reform. Next year, seven general education schools with 68 pupil places will be put into operation in Tallinn, Tartu, Kiviyl, Narva, Aravete, Saue, and Ukhtna. The construction of new schools is beginning in Elva, Mustla, Purksi, Vyarska and Tallinn. The construction of special school-boarding hostels is also beginning in Khaapaslu and Urvaste. Children's institutions with 4600 places will be put into operation--one-fourth more than in the current year. This will make it possible to 79 percent of the children of a given age in cities and 50 percent of the children in rural areas to attend children's institutions.

The plan also calls for strengthening the material base in other branches of the social infrastructure--trade, consumer services, health care and culture. Of the largest health care facilities, it is planned to enlarge hospitals in Rakvere and Kingisepp; to enlarge the Tallinn Eye Clinic, the central

children's polyclinic and a polyclinic in the Lasnamyaeskiy residential rayon. The commencement of construction on new health care institutions is planned.

In the area of culture, the startup complex of the Tallinn Printing Plant, the second phase of a television studio, and a movie theater in Elva will be put into operation. The construction of certain projects will begin.

The network of trade and consumer service enterprises will be expanded.

Environmental protection measures occupy an important place in the plan. Approximately 18 million rubles in capital investments have been allocated to finance these measures. In the coming year, sewage treatment facilities will be built in Raaziku, Risti, Ryapina, Kokhila and Rummu. Facilities for treating quarry water are also under construction in the Estonslanets and Estonsfosforit associations. Targets indicated in the State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Estonian SSR in 1985, G. A. Tynspoveg said in conclusion, will promote the progressive development of the republic's economy, the further betterment of the people's well-being, and the creation of prerequisites for the development of the economy under the 12th Five-Year Plan.

We express the certainty that the working people of Soviet Estonia in response to the party's appeal will actively join in the socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of targets of the state plan, for rational management and will make the year 1985--the year of preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress--noteworthy for high labor achievements.

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SOVETAKAN AYASTAN CARRIES DEMIRCHYAN'S ELECTION SPEECH

GF111500 Yerevan SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in Armenian 19 Feb 85 pp 1,2,3

[Excerpts] For its achievements in economy, science and culture in the first 4 years of the 5-year plan period, Soviet Armenia has been recognized as victorious in the all-union socialist emulation for four successive times during this 5-year plan period and has been awarded with the Order of Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Trade Unions Council and the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. This high award has also been presented to a number of the republic's cities and rayons, establishments, enterprises, and organizations.

Expressing gratitude to the party and government for high appreciation of their work, the labor collectives are waging a decisive struggle to raise production efficiency, to insure the rational use of raw materials and labor resources, to establish strict labor and plan discipline in all locations, are mobilizing all forces to fully realize the 11th Five-Year Plan targets for economic and social development, to mark the final year of the 5-year plan which is the 40th anniversary of the great victory with striking works and to welcome the party's 27th congress in a worthwhile way.

These endeavors of the republic's workers were expressed during the meeting of K.S. Demirchyan, deputy of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, with the electors of No 11 electoral okrug of Telman in Yerevan which was held on 18 February at the culture hall of "Nayirid" scientific production association.

Along with Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, on the presidium were Comrades B.Y. Sarkisov, F.T. Sarkisyan, G.N. Andreyev, K.L. Dallakyan, L.N. Nersesyan, G.M. Voskanyan, S.M. Petrosyan, A.O. Topyzyan, M.G. Arutyunyan, G.A. Martirosyan, M.G. Muradyan, M.A. Yuzbashyan, L.G. Saakyan; the members of the okrug electoral commission; production leaders; scientific and cultural workers; party; soviet; trade unions and Komsomol officials.

Karen Seropovich Demirchyan, Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, was warmly welcomed by the attendants and then delivered a speech.

Comrade K.S. Demirchyan expressed deep gratitude to the labor collectives of Yerevan Telman electoral okrug enterprises and organizations and to all the workers, who have proposed him and defended his candidacy as Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy and assured that he will continue to dedicate all his powers, efforts and knowledge in the future for the people's interest and for the work of the great Leninist party.

"The all-union and autonomous republics' Supreme Soviet and people's deputies local councils elections," he said, "are a great event in the public political life of our country."

He said: "The 5 years following the previous elections are characterized by new promotion of labor and creative activity of the masses, with large-scale events, and patriotic and purposeful work carried out toward the fulfillment of the supreme plans of the CPSU. For the purpose of dynamic development of the national economy branches and the promotion of the Soviet people's living standards, the party is mobilizing the workers to realize purposeful and comprehensive socioeconomic plans. Changes are taking place in all locations which are contributing to the reinforcement of the material and spiritual bases of socialist way of life and the molding of the new man. The unshakable fraternal friendship of our country's peoples has further developed due to the large-scale communist construction. Our great fatherland proceeding by the Leninist course has achieved new and high communist goals.

Our republic's workers, as all the Soviet people, are marching toward the elections by being closely assembled around the genuine Leninist party, fully defending its wise domestic and foreign policy, which is aimed at the growth of economic and defense might of the country, the promotion of people's welfare, and preservation and strengthening of world peace.

The pre-electoral campaign, which is proceeding in a high labor and political activity atmosphere, is the vivid display of the unshakable unity of party and people, communists and nonparty members, the togetherness of our people and the further development of socialist democracy.

[GF111510] During the pre-electoral meetings, analysis was made on the work carried out after the previous elections, the results of the fulfillment of the electors' proposals, the course of fulfillment of the resolutions of the party's 26th congress and the CPSU Central Committee plenums as well as the 11th Five-Year Plan targets. Tasks were pointed out which are set before us for the perfection of the developed socialist public which emerge from the instructions and evaluations mentioned in the speeches and articles of Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Summing up the republic's development results in the period following the previous elections, it is possible to say with all certainty that everything that was speculated has been fulfilled with honor. New heights of comprehensive progress have been achieved.



Thanks to the constant and devoted work of the working class, kolkhoz farmers, intellectuals and all the republic's workers our republic's economy has developed dynamically, the public production growth rate has accelerated, the basic national economy denominators have improved, the people's well-being has escalated, and our cities and villages have become more beautiful and full of life.

The 5-year plan period following the previous elections has in fact been crowned with significant successes in economic, social and cultural construction fields. The republic's national revenue has grown by 31.7 percent. The industrial output production volume has increased by 34.8 percent. The labor productivity has grown by 18.4 percent. The proportion of high category quality goods has increased and at the moment it constitutes 20.4 percent of the overall output volume. The production of approximately 1,400 new types of products has been assimilated.

The public consumer goods production branches have developed successfully. It is enough to say that the "B" group products growth rates have increased 44.1 percent. The production of manufactured shirts has increased by 76.9 percent, that of footwear by 35.3 percent, canned foods by 14.2 percent, and mineral water by 12.2 percent.

The transport and communications development targets have been fulfilled. The freight turnover of all types of transport has increased by 11.1 percent and that of the passenger transport by 29.2 percent.

The chain of communications enterprises and radio and television broadcasting has expanded and the capacity of urban and rural telecommunications has grown.

The agricultural workers have achieved considerable successes. By constantly struggling for the intensification of agricultural output and fulfillment of the Food Program, they insured the further livestock and agricultural crops production growth. The agricultural fields have been expanded, their use has been improved, 34,300 hectares of irrigated land has been commissioned, 43,100 hectares of prairies and meadows have been irrigated and the basis of fodder has been strengthened.

The average annual gross agricultural output compared to the previous 5-year plan period has grown by 12.2 percent, production of meat by 22 percent (live weight), eggs by 52.2 percent and milk by 13.2 percent. The gross output of grapes, fruit, vegetables, potatoes, and other agricultural crops has increased. The agricultural workers have reached these results under difficult weather conditions, resisting the disasters of nature by their will, consistency, capability, and determination. It is pleasing to point out that at the moment the republic is fully self-sufficient in certain agricultural product types.

Large-scale capital construction has been realized. The volume of capital investments has increased by 20 percent. New factories, livestock breeding complexes and firms and poultry factories have been constructed, the capabilities of many enterprises and associations have been expanded, and many new social and cultural installations have been created.

Indeed, the past 5 years have been a period when the most important and let us also say the unique structures were built and commissioned. Such significant, beautiful and marvelous structures have not been created in our republic in such a short time and without them it is difficult to picture the modern facet of Soviet Armenia.

The basic purpose of our entire work and all the efforts made toward the development of economy is the constant promotion of the people's living standards.

[GF111610] Today we can say with satisfaction that the plan for socialist development projected for the past 5 years has been basically fulfilled. The real income per capita has increased by 13.1 percent, the average wage of the laborers and employees by approximately 14 percent and the overall annual sum of all categories of grants have more than doubled.

The housing conditions of nearly 540,000 people have been improved. New public education schools to accommodate 82,200 students have been constructed as well as preschool establishments to accommodate 32,000 children, 2,960-bed hospitals and clinics for nearly 5,100 consultations per shift.

The volume of state and cooperative retail trade turnover has grown by 19.6 percent and the chain of trade, public food, and consumers service enterprises have been expanded. The consumption of industrial and food products per capita has creased, which is an important indicator for the growth of people's well-being.

The material basis of health care and workers' rest has been strengthened which has permitted a considerable increase in the number of those being treated and resting at the health spas and rest houses. New clubs, culture houses, libraries and sports structures have been constructed in the cities and villages. The evidence of the undeviated development of public education is that the number of the enrollments in various branches of education has increased by 10.5 percent. Our scientific workers' team has been replenished by 19.2 percent.

The literature and arts workers have enriched our arts culture with new vivid and high ideological creations. Many contributions have been made by the workers of press, television and radio and the entire propagandist front in the solution of economic and cultural construction issues.

In one work, comrades, the republic has taken a new step forward in social and economic development to live with a full and meaningful public and political life.

Considerable improvements have taken place in Lenin Rayon, which is one of the biggest centers of the capital and the republic's industry. The work of the enterprises is improving, a large-scale reformation plan has been realized, the rayon workers are actively participating in the socialist emulation to fulfill the 5-year plan targets with honor and have come out with new worthwhile patriotic initiatives.

Our achievements and the successful realization of the socioeconomic development and cultural construction plans, about which we are talking with pride today, are the result of the wise and knowledgeable leadership of the genuine Communist Party and its Leninist Central Committee, as well as the self-devoted work of the republic's heroic working class and kolkhoz workers and the enthusiastic activities of the Armenian Communist Party and its Central Committee, the party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, the soviet, trade unions, Komsomol and economic bodies and organizations.

The evidence for the inspired devotion of the republic's workers is the high results achieved by them in the all-union socialist emulation. Continuing the victorious labor course, Soviet Armenia has achieved for the ninth successive time the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Trade Unions Council and All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Order of Red Banner. That high award has also been achieved by Yerevan and Kirovakan cities, Akhuryan and Echmiadzin Rayons, a number of enterprises, farms and organizations. While Leninakan and Dilizhan cities, the Sovetakan Rayon of Yerevan, Kafan, Spitak, Artashat, Nayiri and Razdhan Rayons, 48 establishments, enterprises and organizations have been awarded with the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the Armenian Trade Unions Council and the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee Orders of Red Banner.

Com. de K.S. Demirchyan warmly congratulated all the Armenian workers and the winners in the socialist emulation on the occasion of the new great achievement and expressed confidence that the republic's workers will use all their efforts in order to successfully conclude the current 5-year plan period and set solid bases for the upcoming 12th Five-Year Plan period.

Our achievements are evident. The task is to reinforce the achievements, to constantly intensify the economy, to raise the efficiency of public production, to successfully resolve the social and cultural questions, to further improve the entire communist education work of our people. That undoubtedly requires from all of us the full use of powers, knowledge and experience, creative approach and responsible attitude toward the questions that should be resolved in the economic and cultural construction and perfection of work style and method. It is very important for each worker to clearly picture the large-scale and complex nature of the questions, the execution of which the entire creative power of the republic will be aimed.

The republic's plans for further socioeconomic development are directed toward the achievement of a new qualitative standard of public economy branches and sectors, particularly industry, toward work organization and more prominent and higher scientific and technical achievements, the insurance of their stable and dynamic development, and the expansion and perfection of the technical basis of economy.

[CF111640] The most important purpose of the projected plans is aimed at raising the people's standard of living, the improvement of the quality of the entire public services network and the conditions of life, work and rest and the further development of health care, public education, science and culture.

The basis for the realization of all these is the speed up of scientific and technical progress, the introduction of scientific and technical achievements and progressive technology, which not only is a purpose for us today but an imperative need. Without this it is impossible to seriously talk about drastically raising labor productivity, quality and production efficiency, economy intensification and sharp reduction in use of raw materials and other resources. Finally, without this, it is not possible to progress and the development of the public is simply unimaginable.

"The first and indisputable thing that should be done on the level of the requirements of developed socialism," points out Comrade K.U. Chernenko in his article, "is to mobilize the organizational efforts and the material means which are necessary for the fastest technical retooling of all branches of national economy and the rapid production assimilation of the most prominent technologies. This is a question which has great significance. Its solution means also the solution of the problems of economy intensification and raising of efficiency."

It should be said that many of the republic's enterprises are well aware of the importance of solving the problem of speeding up scientific and technical progress and are fulfilling in a planned way the programs on technical retooling, mechanization of production processes, automation and perfection of technology and production. The results of this great work are also found in your rayon.

In the past 5 years over 33,000 technical measures have been introduced in the republic, over 570 mechanized flow and automated lines have been installed. The use of programmed machine tools, industrial robots and computer technology has expanded. In 1983 for the first time with us the absolute growth of the number of those engaged in manual work has stopped. The technology perfection and increased production mechanization and automation have reduced the proportion of workers engaged in manual work and has resulted in the change of specializations. Gradually, certain specializations of heavy work are being eliminated and new specializations of qualified mechanized work are appearing. The scientific and technical progress also brings forth positive social shifts. The work conditions are changing as well as the people engaged in production; even their outer appearance is changing.

However, we have a lot to do in this regard. Let us first say that perhaps we have not yet reached the level that each enterprise, organization, ministry and department unreservedly insures the fulfillment of the plans for the introduction of new technics. In many locations the scientific and technical progress questions are being resolved without a system and uncomprehensively. Necessary comprehension and consistency is not being displayed in the technical retooling or production. And as a result, labor productivity growth rates with us are not as they should be. In many enterprises the share of manual work is big, low-productive equipment and technics are being used and old technology is being used.

Technical retooling is a constant process. It can never be ignored because technology is developing very fast. And in order not to lag and manufacture products corresponding to international standards it is necessary to proceed



with the time, to always be on the level of the highest modern requirements, to constantly picture the future of production, be sensitive toward the new, be a modernizer and display a creative approach. This is why the speed-up of scientific and technical progress, the care toward technical retooling and the introduction of scientific and technical achievements, the search for technically and economically based methods for the restructure of operating production departments should become the subject of daily care of all industrial enterprises, labor collectives, party organizations and technical and economic leaders.

Sometimes we approach innovation with fear. Let us talk about the question of creating temporary creative collectives for the solution of complex production, scientific and technical problems. The party committees, the economic bodies and the production and scientific organizations are not displaying the necessary initiative here. Why not form temporary comprehensive collectives of scientific, engineering and technical workers which will work toward the creation of the new?

[GF111720] It is necessary that questions of raising production efficiency and introducing the scientific and technical achievement be resolved immediately and on the state level. An important role should be played in this work particularly by practical science. Our scientists and engineers should increase their participation in the creation and introduction of new technology and techniques and actively contribute to the achievement of the most modern technical standards in our industrial production.

All our production collectives must make efforts so that the entire preferential growth of industrial production volume is insured on the basis of raising labor productivity. The insurance of scientific and technical progress has an unbreakable dialectic relation with the fulfillment of production plans. As a rule in the location that the fulfillment of the production plans is not insured, the clear work routine is disturbed and this in itself also disturbs the course of fulfillment of the plans for the introduction of new techniques and progressive technology. On the other hand, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress greatly depends on the fulfillment of production plans quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, the unreserved fulfillment of production plans should be our leading task.

It is necessary to organize work everywhere in a way to achieve the maximum result from the existing production and technical potential, to rationally use all types of resources, to achieve good results with the least possible expenditures, to produce whatever the consumer requires, to undeviatedly and fully fulfill the deliveries plan and to overfulfill not only the plan targets but also the undertaken socialist obligations.

Our other constant task is the continuous increase of output quality and technical levels. We have considerable shifts in this regard. As it was noted already, 20.4 percent of the republic's output is being produced with honorable quality and in this regard we are among the leaders in the country. However, is it possible to rest assured and be satisfied with the achievements? We find that we must reach to the level where each produced item in our republic is only of high quality.

Unfortunately, there are many incidents when complaints are being filed against many of our enterprises as to the quality of produced output. The basic reason for the low quality industrial output is the violation of standard requirements and technical conditions and technological discipline, the bad organization of quality supervision, the unclear work of technical service, the low responsibility of the undertaken work, carelessness, sloppiness and low discipline.

It is necessary, comrades, to constantly make efforts so that we do not produce any single product type less than the best international samples and that the trademark of our enterprises becomes only the highest quality trademark. There is no other way. Today, quality is the main condition for production development.

The high quality is the result of high production culture, perfected technology and prominent technics, high organization and discipline and the united qualified work of many circles and locations. That is the truth. However, it is also a truth that high quality is the result of each worker's high skill, conscientiousness, self-discipline, the creative search and highly productive work of each worker and his endeavors to make his production section highly qualified.

We have many who work diligently and conscientiously, noted Comrade K.S. Demirchyan. They give an example of high productive work and produce prime quality goods. Propagandizing the achievements of these marvelous workers and the frontranking ones is good; at the same time it is necessary to punish the detractors, those who work carelessly, violate the standards and the technological and work discipline. In general, we must strengthen the struggle everywhere against idleness, establish an atmosphere of intolerance toward the undisciplined and incidents of carelessness and irresponsibility and other negative phenomena of production life.

The struggle for high quality of work and output should be the slogan of each labor collective and party organization. This is not only a question of production but also a question of honor and authority.

The party organizations should direct the educational work toward the creation of feeling of responsibility in the workers without exception for the honor of the trademark of the enterprise, farm and organization so that each one is deeply aware of his role and responsibility in the struggle waged for the high quality of output.

[GF120640] Here it is necessary to talk separately about the quality of goods in high demand by the public. We are doing a lot to improve their quality. Proof of that, for example, is the fact that the proportion of footwear and manufactured goods in the overall volume of sales has grown constantly in recent years. They have occupied a strong place in the structure of commodities turnover and achieved an honorable position in the all-union market. This particularly concerns the products of the "Masis" firm; their footwear is more and more enjoying a high demand. That is understandable because the production association modernizes its assortments by 70 percent every year and dispatches to the trade chain modern products with quality characteristics.

It is a joy that in this regard today we are able to give many positive examples in food and economic goods. It is impossible not to talk about the fact that there are enterprises that produce low quality consumer goods which do not correspond to standard. As a result these goods are not sold. For example, the men's clothing and vests produced by our individual factories are not being sold. The people prefer imported clothes and vests made from the same fabric because the quality of our sewing is low. We do not want to talk about the producers of the goods who also give priority to the imported goods.

In a republic where fourth-generation computers are being produced as well as many types of quality clothing, is it not possible to finally resolve the question of high quality clothing and vests and, in general, other public consumer goods production? It is possible and necessary. It is necessary to correct the situation and sharply raise the quality of such goods so that they satisfy the highest standards of our people. We hope that the labor collectives of those enterprises will structure their work.

Comrades, we have often pointed out the necessity of establishing strict control in all locations. Today, we once again deem it necessary to stress that each production collective, each worker, and each one of us should do everything for the rational use of material and financial resources, fuel and electricity, and to get the maximum result from each hectare of land and each cubic meter of water and from the entire production potential of our republic.

An issue of particular importance is the insurance of correct and continuous work of the transport and the clear organization of the unloading and loading of the trailers; the responsibility of the railway and motor transport workers and the clientele should be raised in this regard, because as a result of the insufficient work in transport, millions of rubles are not in circulation in time and production continuity is disturbed. No concessions should be made for anybody on this. The local Soviets should use all their rights and capabilities in this work.

The local Soviets should constantly maintain their attention on the tasks of improving the municipal services of our cities, villages and outskirts, and developing the trade, consumer services, population health care, and the work of all the other services pertaining to the daily life of our people and workers.

The party committees, organizations, soviets, and economic leaders should give similar importance to the full solution of social and living questions of each work collective in time, without which it is not possible to seriously think about the enterprise's success. Wherever there is daily attention to these issues the affairs are proceeding well, a healthy and creative atmosphere prevails, and the people are working with inspiration and good disposition and achieving great results.

It should be noted with satisfaction that a number of your rayon enterprises are paying attention to the solution of these questions, particularly at the "Hayelektramekena" production association, where a large chain of trade, cultural and social services installations has been created. This is not seen in every small city. There are well-furnished restaurants, shops, clinics, a

pharmacy, supermarket, footwear and optical orders hall, hair dressers, post office, bank, travel agent, and library. During the 11th Five-Year Plan period, the association has built six apartment blocks nursery-kindergarten, and celebrations center.

The workers' medical service and health care is given serious attention. Their children also receive good care. At the moment, the association has 10 kindergartens and pioneer camps. Two subsidiary farms have been organized, which are big suppliers of fresh food of labor restaurants and kindergartens. Its municipal services to the families of laborers and employees also deserves recognition.

In many enterprises and organizations, such as the "Mases" production association and the "Nayirid" scientific production association, the social and living questions are being resolved successfully. But unfortunately, such care for the workers is not displayed in all locations.

[GF120712] We must say that separate enterprises are being allowed to violate housing laws, sometimes certain people are being given houses against the operating legislature, and lists do not exist for housing adults on the established defined order. As in the entire country, in the republic massive construction is being realized and large-scale work is being done to improve services to the population. It is very important that all enterprises and organizations actively participate in the solution of social and living questions, primarily housing problems, because they have considerable means for that purpose. It is necessary to better engage in the construction of houses and display greater control over their quality. It is necessary to establish a clear order for the distribution of houses in all locations. Everything in that work should be resolved in accordance with law and under just and public supervision. Whoever works conscientiously and better and gives more profit should be the first to profit from the permission of receiving residence and public goods.

In all this the soviets, the chosen ones of the people, have a lot to do.

One of our most important tasks in coming years is the insurance of an undeviated escalation of agricultural production and the realization of the Food Program. The major thing here is the increase of agricultural and livestock production through intensification. Each area of fertile land should be put into circulation, the structure of agricultural fields should be perfected, the water resources and machinery should be used more purposefully, and the compensation of capital investments should be increased. We must speed up the desalination of Ararat fields and the rates of putting abandoned lands into circulation, and fulfill our plans for construction of reservoirs and irrigation projects.

It is necessary to completely abolish the existing mentality that the capabilities to develop agricultural production have run out in our republic. We have many unused reserves and science has not yet issued the final word on the creation and development of high production sorts and animal breeds.



large capabilities for the further development of agricultural production should be created in the republic's mountainous areas and valleys. The social and economic standard should be raised in those areas.

This is an extremely serious and important issue. Because of certain obvious attitudes, various republic regions have developed irregularly for a long time resulting in the immigration of people in the mountainous rayons to the big cities and Ararat field rayons, thereby abandoning certain small villages. In order to put an end to this phenomenon, as you know, in recent years we have adopted a course to distribute the productive forces more purposefully to regulate the growth of large cities, to use the natural and labor resources more efficiently, to decrease the flow of the rural population to cities, and to speed up the development rates of the mountainous and hill rayons.

The measures taken in that direction are already having positive results. Farms are being reinforced, new livestock breeding complexes and poultry factories are being created, and industrial enterprises' branches and cultural and social installations also are being created. However, regardless of all this, the economic and social development indicators of those rayons are notably behind the average indicators of the republic. The level of agricultural production intensification is low and many farms today are working at a loss.

We have established a special plan for the development of the mountainous and hill regions. Our task is to fully fulfill it. The work here does not finish with one strike. It is necessary to work constantly and purposefully. Most important of all the work has to be restructured psychologically and be deeply aware of the extreme importance of the projected strategic line. It is necessary to aim the investiture policy at the solution of this problem and rightly decide the priority of the measures to be implemented. It is also necessary here to adopt a wise policy and perfect the planning of agricultural production.

The republic's government and local soviets should create houses and acceptable and good conditions for supplying and constructing livestock-breeding structures and land plots, beside houses, for all those who wish to go to the mountainous and hill areas, particularly the border areas, to work and settle down there; I repeat, to work and settle down.

[GF121126] We, comrades, should help the villages in every possible way. Each enterprise and labor collective should display a zealous attitude on this. However, helping the villages does not mean to become its caretaker. It is necessary to help in solving what they cannot do themselves.

The development of an agroindustrial complex is a pan-national affair. All of us are obliged to do our utmost to insure the further progress of that vitally important economic branch and the fulfillment of the Food Program.

In each new 5-year plan period, as is known, we expand the scales of the social measures, which constantly encompass more and more public layers and new sides of people's life.

The social plan formed on the basis of long-term prospects gives a notable place to the expansion of housing and communal construction. Construction is to total 23.6 million square meters in housing, more than the entire urban housing fund of the republic at the beginning of 1980. Thanks to this, approximately 360,000 families will improve their housing conditions. It will basically expand the proportion of cooperative and private construction.

All this is also the real perspective of Yerevan. Indeed, today we would not have faced difficulties in resolving the housing problem if the vigorous growth rates of the city did not exist. The population of our capital, according to speculation, should have reached 1.1 million people by the year 2000. However, that speculation has already become a reality 20 years before that date. Apart from that, the city's area has greatly expanded, which has resulted in a number of problems requiring solution.

Yerevan requires particular attention. There are many unsolved questions in its municipal services and the protection of its environment. It is necessary to speed up housing construction, yet also insure its high quality. We are establishing necessary measures to solve all these problems. In this regard, the 11th Five-Year Plan period should be a turning point.

We must seriously engage in the problems of developing Yerevan, and in general, the other cities and residential areas of the republic, display sagacity and healthy thinking, and take a systematic and comprehensive approach, taking into account all possible consequences of the adopted decisions.

While solving Yerevan's problems we are obliged to always think about its unique character and beauty and about creating good conditions for its reformation and for people's life and leisure. It is necessary to speed up finding a solution to questions dealing with the architectural shaping and construction of the city center and other areas, which are important from a city construction point of view. The construction of speedy transport roads and the establishment of national highways is also important. This contributes to the saving of fuel as well as the preservation of clean air.

Yerevan is becoming more beautiful every year and enriched with new construction and landmarks. You, of course, have seen the unique architecture on the slope rising toward the monument dedicated to the 40th anniversary of Soviet Armenia. That interesting construction, apart from insuring a direct connection of the center with the "Haghtanak" park, will become a cultural center of urban significance. In the future the Suntukyan Armenian drama theater and the new building for Russian drama theater will be constructed, as well as the people's friendship house, and a big guesthouse at the square near the station by which the shaping of an architectural assembly is surrounding Sasundzi Davit monument. At the V.I. Lenin and Marshal Bagramyan Street intersections a unique underground road system will be created which will link three nearby boscares and the square opposite Aram Khachaturyan concert hall. It will enable new capabilities for cultural and other services to the population.

The material basis and capabilities of our well-known fine arts teaching center will expand further.

The volume of reformation work of the city and all its rayons will be expanded. [GF121320] All this will undoubtedly further enrich our capital's character. New economic, social and cultural development levels will also be achieved by Leninakan, Kirovakan, Razdhan, Kafan and other cities and residential areas in the republic. In the coming years they will become more beautiful and reformed.

These plans, comrades, will unconditionally be realized. Its guarantee is first of all the people's warm love for the republic and our great Soviet fatherland, their devotedness to the genuine cities and countryside and their unconsumable diligence.

These feelings have been expressed and are being expressed in many of their great works, labor creations, attentive attitude toward public possessions and the created material and spiritual wealth. These feelings, which pertain to our achievements, were also displayed recently on an unfortunate occasion.

Following the fire which broke out due to technical reasons at the sports and concerts complex, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's government is receiving these days many cables, letters and phonecalls from all the labor collectives of cities and rayons, from party, war and labor veterans, educational establishments, scientific and cultural workers, individual citizens and families in which the people are expressing their readiness to directly participate in the fast elimination of the consequences of the incident. It is impossible, comrades, to be acquainted with them without emotion, to hear, see, and feel the hearty drive of our people to do everything so that the complex is rebuilt. At the same time it is impossible not to feel great pride for the profound awareness displayed by them, the high civility and supreme moral characteristics which once again proves that our workers are capable of much larger works, are aspiring to the highest and best and undoubtedly deserve them.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and government with the assistance of the all-union bodies and depending on the active and enthusiastic support of the entire republic's people, are already doing and will do everything so that the marvelous structure is restored as soon as possible and it once again marvels the people with its charm and opens its hospitable doors for them. We have much work to do in all economic and cultural construction fields.

For the success of our creative plans it is necessary that we constantly improve our work style and method, our entire organizational, political and educational activities, strengthen discipline in all locations and establish necessary law and order in all national economy locations. It is necessary to raise the role and responsibility of the Soviets in all sectors of our life activities. In this regard the April 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum set before us new tasks which should be constantly realized. The Soviets are the full masters of their territories as well as responsible for everything. It is necessary to perfect the activities of Soviets of all levels and activate the work of the deputies. This should not only be displayed by the number and amount of commissions, meetings and sessions but also by concrete and practical work which they do for the sake of people's well-being.

The standard of the world outlook in the current stage of the development of the Soviet public and the style of thinking and work are gradually influencing more deeply the development of production powers. This is why the questions of educating the Soviet people and further perfecting the molding of the new man which have always occupied an important place in the activities of our party, achieve a unique significance and ardency under the current conditions.

The questions of the further perfection of ideological and political education work, of strengthening its relations with life and economic activity were once again reviewed by us during the January plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee where the tasks of the party organization were defined on the basis of realizing the CPSU Central Committee decision on "the course of implementation of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee decisions at the Armenian SSR party organization."

[GF121432] Today it is necessary to once again outline the exceptional importance of realizing the most important tasks set by the party during the solution of vital economic and social problems. These tasks are to fully use the active power of our propaganda in the communist education of the workers, to strengthen the influence of propaganda on all sectors of public life, to direct the spiritual enthusiasm of the public masses toward the realization of economic and cultural construction plans and toward the achievement of new heights of progress.

The organizational, political and educational work of all the party, soviet, trade unions and economic bodies and organizations should be aimed at these goals. Once and for all it should be clear for all of us that in the field of economic, social and political development, as Comrade K.U. Chernenko noted, it is impossible to achieve high results without depending on the profound knowledge, high awareness and culture of the workers. Along with that, the creation of new production, economic and social conditions, in the final account, should be aimed at the insurance of the harmonious development of the individual; the comprehensive development of the individual has been and is still our supreme goal.

It is necessary to point out that in recent times due to the good influence of the CPSU Central Committee decision, greater attention is being paid in all republic locations to the improvement of propaganda and mass-political work. It is being linked more closely to concrete production and social tasks. The stringency toward leaders has increased not only for the fulfillment of production plans and targets but also for the educational consequences of economic activities and the moral and psychological atmosphere prevailing in the collectives.

However, we have no right to rest assured. Daily efforts are required from us aimed at the improvement of propaganda work, the entire education work and its system. Refusing the stereotype, ostentation, old ways and methods, it is necessary to be based on real life, to study and analyze everything new created by practice always remembering that the main purpose is raising the efficiency of the communist education of the public masses and directing their efforts toward the successful solution, social and political issues.



To establish a spirit of creative activity in each labor collective, to instruct in people intolerance towards mistakes, intolerance of all types of violations against our way of life and morality, this is what the organizational, political and educational work of the party, soviet, trade unions and Komsomol bodies and organizations should be aimed at.

We must pay particular attention to the education of the new generation, particularly to the labor education, and must fully realize the requirements of the school reform in this regard. The success of this work can be insured only through the cooperation of the school, family and public, whose responsibility is to prepare the youngsters for life and mold in them the high characteristics of a Soviet citizen.

Love for work and deep respect toward the working man should be instructed in the child from his childhood. These feelings as a rule are prepared first of all in the family and school and then develops and strengthens at the labor collectives. Since early times traditions of real respect toward the creative man and the one who creates material and spiritual goodness have been established in the families of working people. Naturally, the laborer's nature is molded and love toward work is introduced in such an atmosphere.

[GF121446] The ideological maturity of youths and the moral shaping and preparation for work for the public interest greatly depend on how the education and instruction work is set at the public education schools and other educational establishments. And it is impossible not to see that at the locations where the educational work is set on loose bases individual boys and girls are being troublesome, are not controlling themselves and sometimes forgetting their duties toward the public.

The family's role is particularly great in the education of the children. It is obvious that the good behavior of the parents and the correct educational approach have an exceptional significance for the molding of the children and the healthy family surroundings have a good influence on them. And at places where these aspects are disturbed all kinds of surprises can take place.

Taking care of the education of the new generation we must think about the reinforcement of the family and the preparation of the youths for the marital life. These are extremely sensitive questions and indeed require a considerate approach and it is not possible to ignore or neglect them. The analysis of the causes of divorce reminds us once again that it is necessary to seriously prepare the youths for a united life, that the families should help them overcome the difficulties in the newly created family, particularly the difficulties arising in the first years. However, the talk here is not about material help because certain parents will consider their tasks completed.

In general, unity and mutual help are traditional in our families. And while resolving our current problems of education we will more frequently apply to the good traditions of family life that have been tried for centuries. For example, since the old days we have accepted sitting at the dinner table with the whole family. That was not only a family tradition but also an occasion of hearty communication. Respect toward elders teaches us that the children

sat down to eat after the head of the family. Indeed, under the current conditions it is not always possible to follow such a course. But it is important to always take into account that education of the youngsters in the family starts from common things.

It is appropriate here to mention another tradition of our families and that is, as a rule, we had large families with many children and the fathers and grandfathers used to live with their children and grandchildren. In such harmonious families, the inheritance of best characteristics and family traditions was insured naturally. It is understandable that in our times living with such big families is not an agreeable and common thing. However, it is important not to forget how admirable is the healthy ideal of a full and united family. Moreover, the children that grow up beside their grandfathers and grandmothers receive more spiritual warmth and high family moral lessons.

The responsibility of the parents toward the education of their children is great. However, all must remember that apart from the parental duty there is also the filial duty, the holy duty toward the parents, the negligence of which is simply impossible to justify in any way. How can we justify the rare but occurring sad incidents when the elders who have children are being sent to old people's homes. Those who behave with their parents in this way deserve the strictest public criticism.

Our task is to bring up a generation that has communist morals, is civilized, void of the psychology of wasting and comprehensively educated. A generation that is instructed with patriotism and internationalism and the spirit of friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples, a generation that looks forward, aspires to the future and is creative.

As always the molding of supreme internationalism and patriotism should be found in our propaganda and mass political work.

[GF121500] The party organizations should more consistently and constantly make efforts so that the profound comprehension of ideological conviction, high responsibility and civil duty are reflected in the work and deeds of each worker. The large-scale preparation for the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the fatherland war is a big opportunity for patriotic education. Many of the republic's labor collectives have come forward with a valuable initiative to conclude the 5-year plan period until the jubilee of the victory. The duty of the party committees and the primary party organizations is to greatly expand this initiative and to actively use its educational capabilities particularly in the work carried out by the youths.

In one word, substantial and responsible work awaits us in all sectors of life activities. And it is important that each one is aware of his position and role in the general ranks in order that everyone becomes the active participant and the working individual of our frontranking movement and not be a mere witness who gives approval. It should always be remembered that nobody will do our work for us and even time itself does not finish the thing that we have not done today.

The Soviet people are heading toward the elections with the stable determination to realize the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums and the plan aimed at the further social, economic and cultural development of our fatherland and the promotion of the Soviet people's well-being.

The workers of Soviet Armenia are deeply aware that the realization of the plan set by our party for the comprehensive perfection of the developed socialist public requires from all diligence, initiative and creative activity. They are aware that the entire Soviet people require not only to fulfill but overfulfill the targets and socialist obligations, to contribute to the further prosperity of the Soviet fatherland and to welcome the 27th CPSU Congress with new worthwhile work achievements.

We are confident that all that has been projected will be fulfilled and all the previously defined indicators will be achieved because we are being guided toward the great purpose through the experimented Leninist course of the glorious party of the communists whose wise leadership is insuring the successful progress of our fatherland on the undeviated course of raising the material and spiritual potential, the economic and the defense power and the Soviet people's welfare. It is also insuring the further reinforcement of the international positions of the USSR in its constant struggle waged for world peace and peoples' friendship and social progress.

Allow me, precious comrades, to once again express deep gratitude for proposing me as a deputy of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and to assure you that I will use all my efforts to justify the displayed great confidence and honor.

CSO: 1838/43

REGIONAL

SLYUNKOV SPEECH TO CONSTITUENTS

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 85 pp 1-2

[BELTA article, author not specified: "To Strengthen the Might of the Fatherland Through Labor"]

[Excerpts] Today the high patriotic and civic duty of every worker consists of doing everything necessary to ensure the successful completion of five-year plan goals, worthily greeting the upcoming 27th CPSU Congress and 40th anniversary of the Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and doing his part in the work through many plans toward the improvement of developed socialism. In a programmatic article published not long ago in the magazine KOMMUNIST, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized: "We have reached such frontiers that we can and must move forward, guided by the highest and most demanding conceptions of socialism, worked out on the basis of scientific theory."

These words became the leitmotiv of the businesslike, exacting conversation which took place on 19 Feb at a meeting of voters from the Lenin voting okrug of Minsk with the candidate for delegate to the BSSR Supreme Soviet, Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee.

The meeting was opened by E. G. Bytsko, first secretary of the Leninskiy raykom of the Belorussian CP.

With enthusiasm those assembled elected an honorary presidium in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, headed by Comrade K. U. Chernenko.

The person nominating the candidate for delegate was V. D. Kashkan, machine-assembly fitter in the Machine Tool Production Association imeni Oktyabr'skoy Revolyutsiyi; he told about N. N. Slyunkov's life story and labor and social activism and called upon voters to give their votes unanimously to the candidates of the indestructible bloc of communists and non-Party members on election day.

Afterwards N. N. Slyunkov spoke, receiving a warm welcome from those attending. He expressed sincere gratitude to the collectives of enterprises, institutions and organization in the Leninskiy Rayon of Minsk and to all okrug voters for the high honor accorded him -- nomination as a candidate for delegate to the BSSR Supreme Soviet.



Our meeting, N. N. Slyunkov continued, takes place at a portentous time. Our country is preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. All this lends particular political significance to the election campaign and creates in Soviet people a creative mood for new deeds and accomplishments. In the course of preparations for elections the monolithic unity of Party and people and general approval for the CPSU course toward the further socioeconomic and spiritual flourishing of our society, an increase in people's living standard and preservation of peace around the world were demonstrated with new force.

Soviet Belorussia has reached new frontiers of economic, social and spiritual development. Over a period of 4 years national income increased by 26.6 percent, as compared to a projected goal of 18.4 percent. Production of industrial goods rose by 21.7 percent; plan goal was 19 percent. The increase in labor productivity was accelerated. Over the past 5 years 40 major new industrial enterprises, many projects in the agroindustrial sector and projects for social and cultural purposes have gone into operation.

The republic has made noticeable strides forward in the development of agricultural production. Over a period of 4 years the average annual volume of gross production in this sector increased by 8 percent as compared with average volume in the 10th Five-Year Plan. Last year rural workers overfulfilled plans for the production and procurement of all agricultural and livestock products.

The social program is being successfully implemented. Last year real per capita income had increased by 13 percent as compared to its 1979 level. The average monthly salary for workers and service personnel grew over this period from 144 to 166 rubles and collective farm workers' pay rose by 44 percent, reaching a level of 147 rubles.

The Party and the government devote priority attention to questions of the everyday life of Soviet people: increasing the production of food products and consumer goods, expanding the service sector and improving housing conditions. Over the past 5 years sales of meat and meat products in the republic rose by 34 percent, fish products by 23 percent, animal oils by 35 percent and milk and milk products by 17 percent. Whereas our per capita meat and meat products consumption was 61 kilograms in 1980, it amounted to 69 kilograms in 1984. Corresponding figures for milk consumption are, respectively, 369 and 382. The nutrition of our people increasingly conforms to scientifically established standards. The supply of everyday and household products to the populace has increased.

Housing construction has reached a high level. Over the past 5 years 25 percent more state funds were invested in this sector than in the period of the preceding five-year plan. Approximately two million persons -- one-fifth of the republic's population -- improved their housing conditions.

Supplementary payments out of public consumption funds make up a significant bonus for family budgets. Over the five-year period these increased from 416 to 490 rubles per capita. More and more schools, hospitals and cultural institutions are being built. Medical service for the populace is being improved.

N. N. Slyunkov emphasized that in our country all wealth created by the people is returned to the people. The more actively we multiply this wealth, the more quickly the prosperity of each Soviet family and each worker will increase.

The achievements of the republic in the development of the economy, science and culture and in the raising of people's living standard are the result of the realization of the Party's scientifically based socioeconomic policy. This is the sum of selfless labor by republic workers, collective farm workers and intelligentsia and of major organizational and political work by Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and all cadres. The efforts of the workers of the Hero City Minsk and the capital's Leninskiy Rayon are also represented in these achievements. The citizens of Minsk in many ways present an example of how one must seek out and apply new resources for increasing production efficiency.

The Party calls upon us, noted N. N. Slyunkov, not to be content with that which has been accomplished and to guard against the slightest sign of complacency. We still have many unresolved questions, difficulties, omissions and insufficiencies; we all face the task of working seriously to eliminate these. The principal tasks in the further development of the economy were formulated in Comrade K. U. Chernenko's speech at the Politburo session of 15 November 1984. Their essence lies in more rational administration, full utilization of production and scientific and technical potential, the greatest possible savings of financial and material resources and an increase in the discipline, level of organization and feeling of responsibility of cadres for the tasks assigned to them. By the end of the 1980's we must reach a radical turning point in the intensification of the national economy. To do this we must increase in every way the productivity of national labor.

N. N. Slyunkov devoted much attention to matters of reinforcing the conservation system. It was noted that the initiative by Minsk labor collectives to ensure the entire growth of industrial production without increasing consumption of metal and energy for heat and electricity deserves all possible support. It is essential to respond with practical deeds to the Party's challenge to work not less than two days in 1985 on resources saved through conservation. There is the potential to do this. In a number of enterprises a large amount of rolled metal stock is being scrapped. Secondary resources are poorly utilized. Fuel and energy for heating and electricity are used inefficiently.

In addition the speaker dwelt on problems relating to improving the quality and increasing the selection and volume of production of consumer goods.

It is praiseworthy, continued N. N. Slyunkov, that Minsk enterprises closely link the solution of production tasks to improvement in workers' social and living conditions. But this work must be conducted more energetically. We must not forget: there is not a single social issue which can be considered trivial or of secondary importance. They are all connected with improvement of our people's welfare, with their harmonious development, their mood and, in the final analysis, with their work output. To resolve these problems neither labor collectives nor rayon and city administrators should spare their time or effort.

In recent years the citizens of Minsk have done a great deal to make their city more beautiful and comfortable and to make it a pleasant place in which to live. All this is encouraging. But there also remain quite a few questions which worry people. There are many insufficiencies in the state of housing. It is necessary to develop more persistently the material and technical basis of trade and undertake all possible steps to improve the quality of customer service. The work of enterprises in public food service and domestic services do not fully meet modern-day requirements. Resources allocated to the building of projects for social, cultural and everyday usage are not developed completely, or else very slowly. City and rayon soviet of people's delegates must establish order in this matter.

N. N. Slyunkov devoted a large part of his speech to matters concerning improvement in the work of soviets of people's delegates. Local organs of soviet power are presently seeking out, coordinating and utilizing material, financial and other resources of enterprises in various departments [vedomstva] to improve people's welfare. At the same time the tremendous potential of local soviets is by no means being utilized fully. Certain of them are not looking after the development of production well enough, are not sufficiently active in seeking out local opportunities to increase production of consumer goods, develop the service sector and make settlements more attractive. Greater consistency is required of soviets in the struggle against manifestations of petty departmental interests.

In all their projects and undertakings, in all their affairs, the Party and soviets rely on workers and their tremendous creative abilities. The larger the tasks which we are attempting to resolve, the greater the role of the human factor, people's creativity and the masses' creative activism. But this requires every possible improvement in ideological work. Its focus must be transferred to labor collectives; these are the places where the fate of plans is being decided and where fundamental personality traits are being molded. It is important to combine education through words and education through deeds into one. This can be done through order, a high level of discipline and organization and a feeling of responsibility.

N. N. Slyunkov dwelt on tasks connected with preparations for the 40th anniversary of the great Victory. These preparations must be utilized to strengthen work toward the upbringing of people in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism. The unprecedented feat of our people and our Armed Forces must be preserved forever in the memory of present and future generations.

Right now plans for the 12th Five-Year Plan are being drawn up in the republic. They provide for a further increase in the efficiency of all sectors of the national economy and their advancement to new, higher frontiers. The attainment of this requires a major restructuring of work, with the goal of giving it more direction and a more systematic nature, and therefore greater results.

The Belorussian CP Central Committee strives for the establishment in the work of Party, soviet and administrative organs of a concrete, analytical and self-critical approach to the evaluation of that which has been done and achieved. Such an approach permits us to utilize more fully the opportunities inherent in our social system, conduct more resolutely the struggle against all types of insufficiencies, strengthen discipline and increase cadres' level of organization and feeling of responsibility.

Various forms and methods of work are utilized to this end. Specifically, in the republic a system has been set up for conducting annual consultations between Belorussian CP Central Committee Bureau members and oblast, city and rayon administrators, ministries and departments. In the course of such consultations the results of work done are presented and ways to further improve Party leadership in the economy and in people's education are defined. This is a good school of leadership, administration, management and mastery of a Leninist style of operation.

In the future as well it is necessary to persistently improve organizational and political work, do everything possible to resolve successfully the administrative and political tasks posed by the Party and increase the republic contribution to the common property of the Soviet people.

In conclusion N. N. Slyunkov again expressed sincere gratitude to okrug workers for the high honor accorded him and assured them that he would work to the limit of his abilities and do everything possible to justify the voters' trust.

12825

CSO: 1800/190



REGIONAL

NABIYEV, OTHERS WELCOME 40TH ANNIVERSARY DELEGATION

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 15 March 1985 carries on page 1 a 300-word article covering the visit of a travelling delegation of veterans organized by the USSR Komsomol. The group is visiting the union-republic capitals and meeting veterans groups, school-children, workers and others; by these meetings and talks, the veterans are helping to commemorate the upcoming 40th anniversary of the Great Patriotic War. First Secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee, R. N. Nabiyeu was at the airport to greet the delegation, as were the Chairman of the Tajik Council of Ministers, K. M. Makhkamov, and the first secretary of the Tajik Komsomol, Sh. M. Sultanov.

TAJIK-LANGUAGE PAPER AWARDED HONORARY DIPLOMA

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 23 March 1985 carries on page 1 a 50-word decree signed by Chairman of the Tajik Supreme Soviet G. Pallayev and Secretary I. Rakhimova and dated 22 March. The Tajik-language daily TODSHIKISTONI SOVETI was awarded an honorary diploma for its lengthy and fruitful service in informing and mobilizing the working masses of Tajikistan.

NABIYEV ADDRESSES SEMINAR-MEETING ON ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 3 March 1985 carries on page 1 a 500-word article covering a seminar on livestock problems. Problems under discussion included the need for intensification and strengthening of the material-technical base for the field, efforts to switch to the brigade system of labor and accounting, low productivity of cattle, the depleted feed base, and lack of commitment on the part of specialists to their given areas of responsibility. Members of the Tajik CP Central Committee, the Tajik Council of Ministers, leaders of various ministries and departments which are concerned with the agro-industrial complex, and scientists participated in the work. First Secretary of the Tajik CP Central Committee R. N. Nabiyeu gave a speech at the meeting.

CSO: 1830/442

REGIONAL

BAGIROV AT REPUBLIC AKTIV

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 3 Feb 85 p 1

[Address of K.M. Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, at the discussion of the party-economic aktiv on 2 February 1985]

[Text] On 2 February, the regular discussion period of the school of the party-economic aktiv under the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee took place in the club imeni F. Dzerzhinskiy. K.M. Bakirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, presented a lecture to the participants on the subject "The Article of K.U. Chernenko 'On the Level of Demands of Developed Socialism. Some Urgent Problems in the Theory, Strategy and Tactics of the CPSU'--an Important Contribution to Theory and Practice."

"We are now in the second month of the calendar for 1985, the final year of the 11th Five-Year Plan, which will no doubt go into the history of the Leninist party and the Soviet State as a turning point on our historical path to communism, he said. In many ways, the current year is unusual and full of very important social and political events. The elections for the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and for the local soviets of people's deputies will be held on 24 February. In April, we observe the 115th anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin and the 65th anniversary of Soviet Azerbaijan. On 9 May, the Soviet people and all of progressive humanity celebrate the 40th anniversary of our Great Victory Over Fascism, and this year we will observe the 80th anniversary of the first Russian revolution and the 50th anniversary of the Stakhanovite Movement. Finally, the party began to prepare for its 27th Congress. The congress will have to discuss and adopt a new version of the CPSU Program, make some corrections in the Party Rules and outline the main directions of its further strategy and tactics.

"In preparing for its forum, the party considers it essential to comprehend thoroughly the road behind it, give an accurate scientific evaluation of the current state of affairs, determine the main points of reference for improving developed socialism, make every communist and every Soviet person aware of all of the innovation and complexity of our tasks of today, and awaken the need for their creative resolution. All of this requires the persistent work of the collective thinking of communists and the concentrated efforts of the party and people in solving operational-economic and ideological problems.

"The article by Comrade K.U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, 'On the Level of

Demands of Developed Socialism, Some Urgent Problems in the Theory, Strategy and Tactics of the CPSU,' was an extremely important contribution to this work. This is a general party document of tremendous political, ideological-theoretical and practical importance. It is in full accordance with our party's tradition of providing a broad theoretical formula at each critical historical point expressing the essence of the coming stage and the singularity of the new tasks as well as of putting forth political slogans permitting one to unite the latest conclusions of revolutionary theory with the practical work of the masses and the ideas and will of the party with the thoughts and will of millions.

"The article summarizes the basic achievements of the collective thinking of the party in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and it gives an analysis of the real experience and prospects for the socialist society that we have built. The theoretical principles and positions advanced by Comrade K.U. Chernenko in the article now serve as the general basis for the elaboration of the party's contemporary strategy and tactics.

"This is precisely why the publication of this article and the study, discussion and propaganda of the ideas, positions and conclusions contained in it were the start of the direct national preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. And proceeding precisely from the article's evaluation of the state of affairs in the economic, social and intellectual areas in the life of the country and being guided by the general strategic positions on questions involving the further economic and social development of the Soviet society, we must now develop substantial and multifaceted work to bring about a sharp rise in public production, a qualitative improvement in the economic mechanism, and a fundamental renovation of many areas and sectors of the creative work of the party and nation.

"The assimilation of the truly innovative and profoundly creative conclusions and orientations of the party by all workers,' stressed Comrade K.U. Chernenko, 'essentially means a reorientation of social consciousness.... It is absolutely essential, therefore, to give every Soviet person a clear understanding of the scope and complexity of the arising tasks as well as of the willingness and ability to carry them out, working with energy and initiative and maximum results.' Practically all of our ideological and mass-propaganda work has now been subordinated to the implementation of this directive of Konstantin Ustinovich, and related to this work is the election campaign and the resolution of current practical tasks. This point of view is now the basis for the carrying out of political enlightenment and economic training as well as propaganda lectures and the work of the mass communications media.

"As is known, the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee adopted a special decree on priority measures to propagandize and study the article by Comrade K.U. Chernenko 'On the Level of the Demands of Developed Socialism.' The decree gave the work the proper impetus and conformity to plan, ensuring the active participation of all links of the Azerbaijan party organization in this work. Seminars and conferences of key ideological personnel are now being carried out and everywhere social and political lectures and theoretical and practical scientific conferences on the main positions of the article are being organized. This work must be continued, of course. In this connection, it is essential to

pay attention to the intensification of the process of the study of Comrade K.U. Chernenko's article by all propaganda means and above all in the system of political and economic education. The organization of the study and discussion of the positions and conclusions contained in the article of Comrade K.U. Chernenko is a very important political campaign. And the party committees must perform this work thoughtfully, creatively and with personal interest but without formalism and extreme literalism."

Comrade Bagirov stressed: "It is the primary duty of the key managing personnel as well as of our entire party and ideological aktiv to study in depth, comprehend and, in turn, explain the political meaning of the concept of developed socialism put forth by the party along with the tasks flowing from it for the improvement of all aspects of social relations. It must also know how to link these tasks closely with practical matters and with educational work. The concept of developed socialism arms us with a strictly scientific notion on the short and long-term constructive goals and ways to achieve them and is at the foundation of the new version of the CPSU Program being prepared. The conclusions flowing from this concept warn against our getting ahead of ourselves and against confusing what now exists and what must be achieved. At the same time, as is emphasized in K.U. Chernenko's article, there should be no sign of sluggishness in practical operations, in resolving urgent problems, or in overcoming shortcomings. In this connection, fundamental importance both theoretically as well as politically is attached to the conclusion that before solving the tasks directly relating to the building of communism, it is essential to pass completely through a historically lengthy stage of improving developed socialism.

"This conclusion orients us to make a realistic evaluation both of our tremendous achievements as well as of the existing shortcomings, and it makes it possible to determine both immediate as well as long-term tasks and to mobilize the masses for their implementation.

"Our economic system," continued Comrade Bagirov, "has come quite close to the point where qualitative progress and changes in it have become an imperative necessity. The main task is to work out measures that would make it possible for us to make more effective use of the advantages of real socialism.

"In this connection, large and complex tasks face our republic as well. It is clear that further progress in Soviet Azerbaijan is unthinkable without serious changes in the area of the economy. The task also involves pulling up individual sectors that are lagging behind and attaining a more significant increase in production efficiency and the intensification of all of its sectors by the end of the 1980's. It is thereby essential to delve more deeply into the processes taking place in our national economy and, on this basis, to develop our own work and work out ways in which we must put into effect the tasks of the country's economic policy so that the forthcoming period will be an important stage in the dynamic and progressive development of the economy of Azerbaijan as part of the unified national economic complex of the country."

Characterizing in detail the specific tasks of the party organization and of the republic's workers, tasks flowing out of the positions and orientations



of Comrade K.U. Chernenko's article, Bagirov said in concluding: "It should be clear that the formula 'developed socialism' is not some document that automatically guarantees us successes and achievements. Comrade K.U. Chernenko's article disposes us toward active and creative work and toward an accelerated movement forward with better results than has heretofore been the case.

"The party takes the approach that the improvement of the socialism that we have built will constitute an entire historical epoch that will have its specific stages, its consistent tasks and its time periods. One must not replace the knowledge of reliable facts and objective inherent laws with emotions and the arbitrary play of the imagination. The party requires that one stand firmly on the ground of scientifically well-founded facts and profound knowledge of the true situation. At the same time, the party considers that we have reached that level when it is essential to orient ourselves and to emulate the highest and most demanding ideas about socialism, which, by the way, presupposes a more considered, clear and convincing propaganda of socialist ideals. In making active use of the entire arsenal of political and ideological means and methods, one must strive persistently to ensure that the emulation of the highest standards of socialism becomes a habit, that it permeates the work of all party, trade-union, Komsomol and public organizations, Soviet and state authorities, and the thought and actions of each Soviet individual.

"The assimilation of the new positions and innovative conclusions at which the Leninist party has arrived must become the heart of the entire process of the reorientation of social consciousness.

"Everything must be done to see that this process becomes one of the key directions of the ideological and political work of the Azerbaijan party organization in preparing for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 31st Congress of the Azerbaijan CP."

There was then group discussion on the theme "Improvement of Socialist Democracy and the Style of Work of State Authorities and Party and Public Organizations in the Light of the Tasks Flowing out of the Article 'On the Level of the Demands of Developed Socialism' by Comrade K.U. Chernenko."

9746

CSO: 1830/309

REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN JOURNAL VIEWS NATIONALITY REPRESENTATION IN SOVIETS

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Nov 84 (signed to press 11 Nov 84)  
pp 19-26

[Article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences Docent K. Valanchyus: "An Important Direction of the Development of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] In the overall system of socialist democracy an important role belongs to the Soviet representative system. V. I. Lenin wrote that "without representative institutions we cannot imagine democracy" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 33, p 48). Therefore after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet representative system was set up. The soviets of people's deputies, which originated during the first bourgeois democratic revolution in 1905 "due to mass political strikes, as nonparty organizations of the broad working masses" (ibid., Vol 12, p 231), constitute its basis.

The Soviet representative system signifies the state form of the exercise of power and encompasses the soviets, which are taken in the unity of all their levels, and special institutions (elections, mandates of the voters, the right of recall and so on). In all 36 supreme soviets and more than 51,800 local soviets, starting with the rural and settlement soviets of people's deputies and ending with the oblast and kray soviets of people's deputies, exist at present in the Soviet Union.

The soviets are the most important means of ensuring the genuine sovereignty of the working people and the leadership of the people in the state and a form of expression of the sovereignty of the people. In the words of V. I. Lenin, the soviets are such a form of state power, which reliably ensures genuine internationalism, through which the workers and peasants of different nationalities since the first days of Soviet power have exercised their power jointly.

The soviets after the Great October Revolution became the political basis of the new state. After January 1918 the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and following the formation of the USSR the All-Union Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, was in charge of their entire system.

During the subsequent development of society, as a result of the profound changes, which had occurred in the social structure of Soviet society, the social base of the soviets broadened, the organizational forms of their formation and the forms of activity improved. This found expression in the transformation of the soviets of workers', peasants' and Red Army deputies into the soviets of workers' deputies.

During the transitional period from capitalism to socialism both the congresses of soviets--the All-Union Congress, the republic, oblast and other congresses--and the soviets themselves--the city and rural soviets, which were elected directly by the working people themselves by direct and equal elections, became a part of the Soviet representative system. But the elections to the congresses of soviets were multistage, not entirely equal suffrage was used. Certain advantages were established for the working class, for the purpose of strengthening its influence. During this period, prior to the building of the foundations of socialism, the legal status of the soviets, the principles of their formation and activity were specified by the 1918 RSFSR Constitution, the 1924 USSR Constitution, the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, which were adopted after the adoption of the 1924 USSR Constitution, and other legislative acts of the USSR and the republics. The party Central Committee and the USSR Central Executive Committee during this period implemented a number of measures on the radical reform of the work of the soviets, there began to be more workers in the city soviets, while in the rural soviets kolkhoz farmers began to play the dominant role. The influence of party and Komsomol organizations rose, the representation of women in the soviets increased (see "Istoriya natsional'no-gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva v SSSR (1917-1936 gg.)" [The History of Nation State Development in the USSR (1917-1936)], Vol 1, 1979, pp 324-329).

With the building of the foundations of socialism new steps were taken on the improvement of the system of soviets, the procedure of their formation and forms of activity. The 1936 USSR Constitution transformed the soviets of workers', peasants' and Red Army deputies into the soviets of workers' deputies and eliminated the system of congresses. All the soviets began to be elected by universal, equal and direct suffrage with secret voting. The territorial principle of representation was established in place of the territorial production principle. All these changes were a major step forward in the development of genuine democracy and the sovereignty of the Soviet people and in the development of the process of the gradual growth of proletarian democracy into national democracy.

Subsequently life urgently required the improvement of the procedure of the formation and the system of Soviet representative organs of power, which had operated on the basis of the 1936 USSR Constitution. The adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Law on the Repeal of Disenfranchisement in Accordance With the Court (1958), the Law on the Procedure of the Recall of Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet (1959), as well as of the steps, which were taken by the Communist Party on the improvement of the work and the increase of the role of all units of the soviets, was of great importance for the improvement of the Soviet representative system.

At the present stage of the building of mature socialism, in conformity with the party Program, which was adopted by the 22d CPSU Congress, the role of the soviets has increased even more, all the forms of the enlistment of the popular masses in the activity of the soviets have been improved. During this period the numerical composition of the soviets increased significantly. Throughout the country in 1961 1,822,000 deputies of local soviets were elected, while in 1975 2,211,000 deputies had already been elected. In the Lithuanian SSR there were respectively 32,844 and 36,658 deputies. Starting in 1963 1 deputy began to be elected to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet not per 15,000 people, but per 10,000 people, and therefore the number of deputies in the highest organ of power of the republic increased. In 1959 there were 209 deputies in it, while in 1975 there were 320.

The aktiv of the local soviets has increased: supernumerary departments of the executive committees, inspectors and instructors, who work on a voluntary basis and the number of whom has steadily increased, have appeared. More than 20 supernumerary departments of the executive committees of the local soviets were already working in the republic 10 years after the adoption of the new CPSU Program, while in all more than 190,000 citizens of the republic were busy in various organs of public initiative. The supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics along with questions of the improvement of legislation began to check more the activity of the councils of ministers--the governments of the republics, ministries and departments, and to consider more questions of the state and development of the national economy and sociocultural development. During this period the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet considered, for example, the questions of the expansion of the production of consumer goods and the increase of their quality, the problems of the social security of the population, the questions of the use of land, the improvement of its protection and others. The republic Supreme Soviet considered and approved the annual plans of the development of the national economy of the republic.

During this period the basic rights and duties of the rural and settlement soviets of workers' deputies, as well as the rayon, city and city rayon soviets of workers' deputies were specified for the first time legislatively. On the basis of all-union ukases, for example, in the Lithuanian SSR, as in all the other union republics, new laws on the apilinke [district], settlement, rayon, city and city rayon soviets were passed. The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet took under its control the execution of these laws.

The passage on 20 September 1972 of the USSR Law on the Status of People's Deputies was of enormous importance for the improvement of the activity of the entire Soviet state representative system. The law broadened the guarantees of the exercise of the powers of deputies in representative organs and electoral districts, specified the interrelations of the deputies with the soviet and increased the responsibility of executive and administrative organs and officials for providing the deputy with the necessary assistance in his work.



The 1977 USSR Constitution, which recorded the entry of society into the initial stage of the improvement of mature socialism, changed the name of the soviets of workers' deputies. They began to be called soviets of people's deputies. The USSR Constitution, as well as the Lithuanian SSR Constitution consistently pursued the principle of the sovereignty of the soviets as the only and sole representatives of state power, through which the people exercise state power. All other organs, it is indicated in the constitutions, are under the control of and accountable to the soviets of people's deputies. After the adoption of the USSR Constitution the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government adopted a decree on the increase of the role of the soviets of people's deputies in economic development. The corresponding decree was also adopted in our republic. These decrees broadened the coordinating and control functions of the soviets and afforded in conformity with the USSR Constitution and the Lithuanian SSR Constitution real opportunities so that they would plan comprehensively the economy and social development of cities and rayons in case of the drafting of five-year and annual plans, as well as could monitor their fulfillment. The rights of the soviets in the area of the planning of manpower resources and their use were broadened, the financial resources of the soviets as organs of power locally were increased. Since the adoption of the new Soviet constitutions, as Chairman of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Comrade A. Barkauskas wrote, in a number of places the soviets have been able to join fundamentally in the political educational work being performed by the party.

The new USSR Constitution lowered the age qualification for deputies of the Supreme Soviet from 23 to 21 and for deputies of the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics from 21 to 18. Therefore, there began to be more deputies who represent the young people of our country. Whereas in 1967 in the supreme soviets of all the union republics deputies up to the age of 30 made up 9 percent, including 2.8 percent who were All-Union Komsomol members, in 1982 young people up to the age of 30 made up 19.5 percent of those elected, including 14.3 percent who were All-Union Komsomol members. After the adoption of the new USSR Constitution the number of deputies up to the age of 30 in the USSR Supreme Soviet increased significantly. In the present convocation of the USSR Supreme Soviet 22 percent of the deputies are under 30, and 15 percent are All-Union Komsomol members.

At the 26th CPSU Congress it was noted that with the adoption of the new USSR Constitution, and after it the new constitutions of the union and autonomous republics, a new stage commenced in their work. The soviets became a solid foundation, on the basis of which the entire mechanism of the state is being formed. They unite the working people into the Soviet state and are the permanent and only political basis of this state. The soviets consistently implement the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, serve as a tool of the inviolable union of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia and act as an effective force of the proper organization of relations between the nations and nationalities, which constitute a new historical community--the Soviet people.

All deputies are bound to combine in their activity international and national interests. The Law on the Status of People's Deputies obliges them to take into account the national and other features of the union and autonomous republic and autonomous okrug, from which they have been elected or on the territory of which their electoral district is located. At the same time the CPSU is striving to ensure the representation of all the nations and nationalities, who populate the USSR, as well as to take into account the multinational composition of every republic.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the tasks of party organizations in connection with the preparation and holding of the election to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, the need for the nomination of candidates for deputies along with people of the indigenous nationalities of the union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts of representatives of the other nationalities, which live in them, was indicated. Therefore in the world there is no supreme organ of state power which is as multinational in its composition of deputies as the USSR Supreme Soviet. Among the deputies of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet there are representatives of 40 nationalities, the Council of Nationalities--59, while in all representatives of 63 nationalities were elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Deputies of 71 nationalities were elected to the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, while in the local soviets people of more than 100 nations and nationalities are people's deputies; in the Lithuanian SSR there are representatives of 29 nationalities.

Among the deputies the indigenous nations predominate everywhere and thereby the national profile of the republics appears in the makeup of the soviets. At the same time the multinational nature of the population of the union republics is increasing. As a whole the nonindigenous population in recent decades has increased in all the national republics and for the country comes to nearly one-fifth, that is, approximately 50 million people who live outside their ethnic boundaries. In the Lithuanian SSR from 1959 to 1979 the population of other nationalities increased by 106,000 and now comes to 20 percent of the population of the republic.

In connection with the migration of the population not only the republics, but also many cities and rayons are becoming more multinational. Under these conditions the party requires that the questions of satisfying the specific interests and needs of the population of other nationalities be treated attentively and sympathetically, and also that when nominating candidates for deputies the more or level uniform, proportionate representation of the nations and nationalities, who live on the territory of one soviet or another, be ensured. Of course, an arithmetical approach to the solution of such problems is inappropriate. But it is necessary to consistently see to it that all the nationalities, who are present in one republic or another, would be properly represented in the various units of party and soviet organs. Comrade K. U. Chernenko at the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum stressed: "Both in the structure and in all the activity of our soviets--first of all the USSR Supreme Soviet--the unity of the international and the national is visibly embodied. This served and is serving well the strengthening of the

USSR. At the same time, we do not regard the formed international relations in our state as something frozen, invariable, which is not susceptible to the influence of new circumstances and time. But this means that, when developing the existing organizational forms and methods of work, which have justified themselves, it is also necessary to constantly seek others, which are conducive to the flourishing of the nations and their convergence" ("Materialy Plenuma TsK KPSS. 10 aprelya 1984 g." [Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. 10 April 1984], Moscow, 1984, p 14).

This means that it is constantly necessary to improve the Soviet representative system, including from the standpoint of national representation, since limits to its improvement do not exist, especially if you consider both the experience of the past and the experience of national representation in the world community of socialist countries. Experience shows that it is impossible to take into account as much as possible all the subtleties of the matter and to satisfy the interests and demands of nations and nationalities adequately without a certain institutional arrangement. Back in October 1917 the 2d Congress of Soviets established the People's Commissariat for Nationalities (Narkomnats). It dealt with all questions connected with national relations. After the founding of the USSR the People's Commissariat for Nationalities was abolished. However, under the auspices of the USSR Central Executive Committee an assistance fund for backward peoples was organized, a commission for the improvement of the labor and daily life of working women of the East, a committee for assistance to the peoples of the North and a committee for land-tenure regulations of Jews were established. A department for nationalities was established under the auspices of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. In the Belorussian SSR, for example, in 1924 a commission of the Belorussian SSR Central Executive Committee for the implementation of national policy was set up. In the okrugs such commissions were set up under the auspices of the okrug executive committees. Later, in 1957, an economic commission, which consisted of representatives of the union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs was formed in the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The commission existed until 1966 and dealt with questions of the economic and cultural development of national regions, the improvement of national economic planning and the thorough consideration of the demands of the union republics, the more correct settlement of questions of the economic and sociocultural development of the republics in conformity with their economic, national and other peculiarities. It also dealt with many other questions which concerned the interests of the union republics. Now the Council of Nationalities and its permanent Budget and Planning Commission and sectorial commissions deal with these questions.

The question of the establishment of a specialized organ attached to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in particular, of the formation in the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics or in the system of the presidiums of these supreme soviets of commissions for nationalities is being raised in the literature. They could study the arising problems in the sphere of national relations and submit their own scientifically sound recommendations to executive instances. Moreover, for these purposes it is proposed to establish a scientific research



center-institute or academy of Soviet state development or nation state development (see M. G. Kirichenko, "The Reflection of International and National Features in the Structure and Activity of the Organs of the Soviet State," "Sotsialisticheskaya demokratiya i internatsional'noye yedinstvo Sovetskogo naroda" [Socialist Democracy and the International Unity of the Soviet People], Moscow, 1982, pp 159-160).

These proposals originate from Lenin's instructions that "only vast attentiveness toward the interests of the different nations eliminates the grounds for conflicts, eliminates mutual distrust, eliminates the fear of any intrigues, creates trust, especially of workers and peasants who speak different languages, without whom both peaceful relations among peoples and any successful development of everything that is valuable in modern civilization are absolutely impossible" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 45, p 240).

The soviets, as has already been noted, by their nature are international organs. "The Soviet republic," V. I. Lenin stressed, "unites the working people of all nations and defends the interests of the working people regardless of nations" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 536). Later he indicated "that only the workers, only the working peasants, excluding the exploiters, comprise the mass organizations--the soviets, and all state power is being turned over to these soviets" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 238). Therefore, now workers and peasants also constitute more than half of the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and 69.2 percent of the local soviets. Here the proportion of workers, which is a reflection of the processes occurring in society, among the deputies of the soviets is increasing. In the USSR Supreme Soviet, 5th Convocation (1958-1962), workers made up 23.2 percent, while the 11th Convocation--35.2 percent. For comparison let us say that in bourgeois parliaments the overwhelming majority of deputies are prominent lawyers, businessmen, farmers, bankers and other representatives of the propertied classes. Thus, in the U.S. Senate (the 1980 convocation) of the 100 senators 57 are lawyers, 23 are businessmen and bankers, 5 are farm owners. There are no workers in the Senate. In the House of Representatives (1980) of the 435 deputies 186 are lawyers, 117 are businessmen and bankers, 42 are professors, 20 are farm owners, 16 are journalists and so on (Ye. M. Chekharin, "KPSS i razvitiye sotsialisticheskoy demokrati" [The CPSU and the Development of Socialist Democracy], Moscow, 1983, p 40).

There is a similar situation in the representative organs of other bourgeois states as well. Given such a composition the bourgeois parliaments do not express and cannot express the will and interests of the people. They express the will and interests of the monopolistic bourgeoisie, which bourgeois political scientists and propaganda portray as "the general will of the people." However, in reality the will of the people and the will of the bourgeois parliament are in gross conflict. This conflict also appeared with all obviousness in the settlement of such a vitally important issue as the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe. The U.S. Government and the West European parliaments, contrary to the will and protests of the peoples, made the decision to deploy the missiles on the territory of Europe



and thereby seriously complicated the international situation and increased tension.

The people's deputies are the leading people of our society, who work dedicatedly at their posts, actively participate in public political life and implement the election platform of the bloc of communists and nonparty members, which embodies the policy of the Communist Party and the interests of the people. While taking part in the work of the soviets, they settle questions of state, economic and sociocultural development. In their activity the deputies are guided by statewide interests and consider the demands of the population of the electoral district, from which they have been elected. The people monitor their activity. Marxist-Leninist doctrine and Soviet legislation repudiate the principle of "the free mandate," since it signifies the lack of responsibility of the deputy to the voters, and recognize the socialist representative mandate as an imperative mandate. The voters in our country in accordance with legislation give the deputy mandates. They can recall the deputies who have not justified the trust of the voters. V. I. Lenin wrote: "Any elected institution or assembly of representatives whatsoever can be considered truly democratic and to actually represent the will of the people only on the condition of the recognition and application of the right of the recall by voters of their delegates" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 35, p 106). This right is an expression of the sovereignty of the people and guarantees the real responsibility of deputies to the voters. Since 1959, that is, from the time of the passage of the Law on the Procedure of the Recall of Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the present, the voters have recalled in all about 8,000 deputies, including more than 100 from the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics and 12 from the USSR Supreme Soviet (E. Kuz'min, "The Ideological Bankruptcy of the Falsifiers of Socialist Democracy," POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, No 11, 1983, p 51). Therefore the party is posing the task to find among the masses and to nominate as candidates for deputies truly competent people, genuinely popular representatives, who would have the necessary political and practical qualities, would enjoy the respect of the working people, would know how to work with people and could worthily fulfill the duties of deputies and represent the interests of the voters.

The representative nature of the organs of the Soviet state also finds expression in the fact that a term of office has been established, after the expiration of which a new election of deputies of the soviets is held, their membership is reformed, and significantly. For example, in the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, 55.2 percent of the membership of the Council of the Union was new, while even 62.7 percent of the membership of the Council of Nationalities was new.

Among the deputies the number of young people and women is increasing. Whereas in 1939 women among the deputies of the local soviets made up a third of the deputies, in the 1982 election for the first time in the history of the development of the soviets they constituted a majority--50.1 percent. Their number is also increasing in the highest organs of power of the USSR, the union and autonomous republics. Thus, the composition of the deputies reflects both the social and the national composition of the population, as well as the historical achievements which have occurred during the building of

mature socialism in our country. However, as has already been noted, there are no limits to the improvement of the Soviet representative system, just as all socialist democracy as a whole. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is playing an exceptionally important role with respect to the Soviet representative system, is concerned about its development and improvement. Enjoying unlimited authority, the party nominates its representatives for the soviets. Through them the party carries out its leading role in the soviets. "They are called upon to introduce in the work of the soviets," it was indicated at the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "organizing authority, to unite around themselves all the chosen representatives of the people, to stimulate and guide their creative initiative" ("Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 10 aprelya 1984 g.," Moscow, 1984, p 8). This is all the more important since, as was indicated at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the enormous potential of the soviets is still being realized inadequate and there exists a certain contradiction, discrepancy between the most abundant possibilities of the soviets and how they are being used in reality (ibid., p 7).

After the April (1984) CPSU Central Committee Plenum the work of the soviets and their organs livened up significantly, the monitoring of the organs accountable to the soviets was tightened up. The questions of deputies began to be included more often on the agendas of the sessions. Last year the deputies of the local soviets of the republic introduced 710 questions at the sessions. The interpellation of the deputy in many soviets, especially of Ionavskiy and Shakyayskiy rayons and the city of Palanga, is becoming a more and more effective means of monitoring the work of the local organs of state government and officials.

The contact of the soviets with the population and labor collectives is gradually becoming stronger. Deputy groups, of which there are now more than 900 in the republic, are playing an important role here. The work on the fulfillment of the mandates of the voters is becoming more versatile. During the last election campaign in 1982 republic voters gave nearly 3,000 mandates. After the holding of the elections to the local soviets the executive committees generalized the mandates and drew up plans of measures on their fulfillment. A large portion of the mandates were fulfilled. The deputies and soviets of the cities of Alitus, Kapsukas and Palanga and of Kretingskiy, Kelmeskiy, Kayshyadorskiy and other rayons distinguished themselves in the work on fulfilling the mandates.

However, the soviets, while heading toward the 27th CPSU Congress and their 80th anniversary, should, as was indicated at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "use better the reserves of the activization of the masses, which are incorporated in the further improvement of socialist democracy and the entire political system of society. And first of all in the improvement of the activity of the soviets--the political basis of the USSR, a mighty tool of the building of socialism" ("Materialy Plenuma Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS. 10 aprelya 1984 goda," Moscow, 1984, p 8).

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CSO: 1800/131a

REGIONAL

MASTERING RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 30 Dec 84 p 3

[Article: "I Would Learn Russian"]

[Text] With each passing year, the Russian language is attaining a more and more solid position in the world as a means of international communication. Today more than 20 million people are striving to master the language of Lenin, the language of the Great October. In recent years, there has been a particularly great expansion of the study of Russian in courses and circles in the developing countries. This has to do with that large international mission being carried out by Soviet specialists, through whose help and direct participation a large number of industrial and other national economic projects are being built abroad. Many representatives of foreign youth, having learned the Russian language, are mastering special knowledge at VUZ's in the USSR. Later, when they return to their native countries, they work in various sectors of the national economy.

This was the topic of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference of Teachers of Russian As a Foreign Language, which took up its work on 29 January in Baku. It was organized by the ministries of higher and secondary specialized education of the USSR and Azerbaijan, the Institute of the Russian Language imeni A.S. Pushkin, and AzINEPTEKHIM imeni M. Azizbekov. Russian teachers of USSR VUZ's of a nonphilological specialization are taking part in the work of the conference.

The conference was opened by I.A. Ibragimov, rector of the AzINEPTEKHIM and member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences.

A report was given by E.M. Turchaninova, senior scientific assistant of the Institute of the Russian Language imeni A.S. Pushkin.

The report and the addresses of the participants noted that 4 years ago a special course in the methods of teaching Russian was introduced in the non-philological departments of VUZ's for the purpose of helping foreign students. About 2,000 students have received their teacher's certificate. But it is essential to improve the program of the special course, which is the foundation for providing training in the occupation of teacher of future engineers, physicians and economists.

The conference is continuing its work.

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN CP MEETING ON TRANSPORTATION

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 20 Feb 85 p 1

[ARMENPRESS article, author not specified: "Conference in the Armenian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] A conference was held in the Armenian CP Central Committee concerning matters of ensuring the uninterrupted functioning of transportation. Heads of ministries, other republic departments, transportation organizations and major production associations as well as responsible officials of the Armenian CP Central Committee took part in the conference.

K. S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, addressed the conference.

It was noted that a considerable amount of work is underway in the republic to ensure the normal functioning of rail and motor vehicle transportation and of civil aviation. Armenia's railroad workers successfully completed January 1985 plans for the shipment of all types of freight and for the average daily unloading of rail cars. Hundreds of thousands of tons of goods for the national economy were hauled by heavy freight trains above plan during January and the first 15 days of February.

At the same time, as was noted at the conference, managers of individual enterprises, organizations, ministries and departments are not ensuring that rail cars are unloaded on time. In particular, the ministries of agriculture, the building materials industry, trade and the food industry, as well as certain production associations, are conducting work in this area in an unorganized manner. Problems of the expansion of loading and unloading operations fronts, their mechanization and organization and loading and unloading labor, especially at night, on days off and on holidays, remain a bottleneck. Labor, production and accountability discipline in transport is still not at the requisite level.

Managers of the Yerevan Division of the Transcaucasus Railway, ministries and departments and enterprises and organizations which make use of the railroad's services must draw up and implement additional measures to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of the transportation conveyor and an increase in the efficiency of its utilization. The task has been set of decisively eradicating any and all violations of labor, production and technological discipline, improving



the work of the information service and setting up a round-the-clock watch by supervisory personnel, which would place upon them the responsibility for loading and unloading work. Rail lines must be gotten into shape. The Ministry for the Construction and Utilization of Republic Highways has been given the assignment of bringing all highways up to standard and promptly clearing them of snowdrifts so as to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of highway transportation.

The republic Ministry of Motor Vehicle Transport must assign a sufficient number of vehicles to enterprises and organizations, so as to ensure pickup and delivery of freight, particularly on Saturdays and Sundays.

Party gorkoms and raykoms must strictly oversee the work of Party organizations in the area of transport and increase their demands upon managers of enterprises and organizations to ensure prompt loading and unloading.

Comrades F. T. Sarkisyan, K. A. Gambaryan, ... N. Nersesyan, M. K. Arutyunyan, G. A. Martirosyan and A. O. Topuzyan took part in the work of the conference.

12825

CSO: 1830/356

REGIONAL

ARMENIAN MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS MEETS ON LAW, ORDER

Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 16 Feb 85 p 2

[ARMENPRESS article, author not specified: "Concerning the Preservation of Law and Order"]

[Text] A republic conference of the administrative staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the directors of city and rayon organs, deputies of political units and secretaries of primary Party organizations examined the results of the practical service activity of republic internal affairs organs in 1984 and tasks toward the further perfecting of their work in preserving law and order. These tasks are a reflection of the demands contained in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "Concerning the Fulfillment of the Decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Armenian Republic Party Organization."

In their reports, A. Shaginyan, minister of internal affairs, and R. Aslanyan, director of the political division, noted that organs and subdivisions of internal affairs in the Armenian SSR, carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums, have in the past year put into effect a number of measures aimed at intensifying the struggle against crime and lawbreaking and increasing the effectiveness of the activity of services and subdivisions in this area. There was a reduction in the crime rate as compared to the preceeding year.

In cooperation with community organizations certain progress was made in the area of ensuring public order in cities and settlements. Additional measures were taken to improve the ideological and political education and vocational training of cadres and guardians of public order.

At the same time it was emphasized at the conference that the work being conducted to reinforce legality and law and order as well as to eradicate crime still does not meet the demands made. A number of city and rayon organs and subdivisions are doing their job poorly with regard to uncovering crimes and improving practical investigative work. Requisite measures are not being taken in the struggle with crimes against citizens' personal property. Shortcomings in the struggle against embezzlement, bribery and speculation are slow to be eliminated. Steps to ensure full compensation for damages caused to the state have been insufficient.

The unsatisfactory work of GAI [State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] subdivisions toward preventing highway transportation accidents, increasing highway supervision and establishing strict control over the physical condition of means of transport was noted.

A prominent place was given to matters of improving cadre work. Particular attention was devoted to the necessity of improving cadre work.

The conference outlined specific steps toward eliminating work shortcomings, increasing the effectiveness of the struggle against crime and lawbreaking and strengthening law and order.

I. Bogatyrev, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, addressed the conference.

G. Voskanyan, Armenian CP Central Committee secretary, and M. Davtyan, head of the Armenian CP Central Committee division of administrative organs, and directors of law enforcement organs took part in the work of the conference.

12825

CSO: 1830/356

REGIONAL

BRIEFS

TAJIKISTAN SUFFERS EARTHQUAKE--On March 16th at 3:13 p.m. local time, an earthquake took place on the territory of Tajikistan, the epicenter of which was 45 kilometers east of the settlement of Dzhirgatal'. The tremors reached a strength of 5 points in Dzhirgatal', 3 points in Garm, and between 2-3 points in Dushanbe. [Text] [Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 17 Mar 85 p 4]

CSO: 1830/442

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